LIVY

BOOKS II. AND III.

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EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY THE

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PREFACE.

This edition is intended mainly for the higher classes in schools. The text is Madvig's (Madvig and Ussing, 1873).

In the notes all that I have attempted is to explain what appeared to require explanation, to point out facts of Latin style in general, and Livian style in particular, and here and there to translate. In such translations as I have given, my aim has been to excite in the minds of school-boys some dissatisfaction with that comfortable jargon of construing English, in the use of which they are still so liberally encouraged by some editors of classical authors. I have purposely avoided loading the notes with etymologies, having found, as a matter of experience, that such scattered etymologies are of little practical use in teaching that elementary portion of philology which is all that can be attempted in schools.

H. M. S.

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INTRODUCTION. I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The second and third books of Livy's history contain his account of the doings of the Roman people in the period between the expulsion of the Kings and the overthrow of the Decemvirate. This account is simply his version of the narratives of the older annalists, principally those of the Sullan epoch, Valerius Antias and Licinius Macer[1]. It seems impossible to prove that these narratives, when they dealt with events before 390 B.C., contained anything more than what must be called traditional history, or that they were based, to anything more than a limited extent, on contemporary documents. Such evidence may have been accessible to the annalists in regard to a few, but a very few facts. As detailed histories, therefore, the work of these annalists, and consequently that of Livy, must be regarded as untrustworthy. On the other hand, it is difficult to

[1] For a concise but full account of the sources of the early Roman history, see Prof. Seeley's Livy, Bk. I. Introduction, pp. 11—20.

believe that the traditional account did not contain a substratum of historical truth. In endeavouring to extract this substratum, all that historians can do is to regard as probably true, firstly, those statements which apparently may have been based on extant documents (e.g. the treaty with the Latins alluded to by Cicero as existing in his time—pro Balbo, c. 23); secondly, those statements of humanly possible events in which the historians agree, and which, being not self-contradictory, are rendered more or less probable by what we know of the contemporary history of other nations, by the subsequent development of the Roman nation itself, by the institutions and customs of later times, and by the facts of language. In the brief abstract that follows I have given what Dr Mommsen regards as the most probable account of the main historical events of the period.

At the time of the expulsion of the kings, the Etruscans were about at the height of their power. They possessed the islands of Aethalia, Corsica, and Sardinia, while, in alliance with the Carthaginians, they held supremacy in the Tuscan and Adriatic seas. In Italy they not only held their extensive territory north of the Tiber, but possessed also a large portion of Campania, while the Volscian towns on the seacoast were subject to them. Latium thus divided them by land from their Italian dependencies. Accordingly, taking advantage of the weakness that naturally followed the violent overthrow of the monarchy, Lars (or Larth) Porsinna (or Porsena) of Clusium invaded Latium. The city was surrendered, the

people forbidden the use of iron[2], except for agricultural purposes, and it seemed as if Rome were about to sink permanently into the condition of a dependency of Etruria. From this it was saved by the Italian Greeks. Porsinna, owing to the intervention of the Greeks of Cumæ, suffered a repulse under the walls of Aricia, which seems to have been the turning-point in the war. How the war ended or how long the Romans remained in their abject condition it is impossible to say, but it is clear that the Etruscans were not able to establish themselves permanently on the left hand of the Tiber. Some twenty years after this the Romans appear engaged in a ten years' war with Veii, in the course of which the Fabian clan perished. This was terminated by a truce for forty years (Livy II. 54), by which apparently Rome regained in relation to the Etruscans the same position she had held under the kings. By this time the Etruscan power had begun to decline. The Gauls were threatening them in the North; and at sea the Sicilian Greeks, who began their victorious career by the defeat of the Carthaginians on the same day on which the battle of Salamis was fought, were robbing them of their supremacy in the Tuscan waters, as later on the Tarentines supplanted them in the Adriatic. Under pressure of all these adverse forces the power of Etruria rapidly declined, and its ultimate subjection to Rome became merely a question of time[3]. The annalists represented the invasion of Porsinna as undertaken for the purpose of restoring the Tarquins.

[2] Tac. Hist. III. 72; Pliny, N. H. XXXIV. 139.

[3] Mommsen, Vol. I. pp. 150, 329—340.

That the latter and their friends should have made attempts to procure their restoration is in the highest degree probable, and the account of Livy (II. cc. 3—7, 19—20) describing such attempts, and indicating a division of feeling on the subject among the Latin towns, as well as in Rome itself, may contain a historical fact[4]. But the statement that Porsinna's invasion was undertaken with this object refutes itself. For, notwithstanding his complete success, he retired, according to the narrative, without effecting the very object for which he set out from home. Livy himself could hardly have believed that the charming exploits of Scævola and Clælia accounted satisfactorily for such a change of purpose[5].

As soon as Rome recovered from the Etruscan defeat, she became engaged in wars with the neighbouring peoples. Volscians and Auruncans, Æquians, Sabines, all appear at war with her, the names of her foes varying according as the annalists drew from the records of one Roman family or another. Whether these fought as clients or allies of the Etruscans, or on their own account as rival claimants for the supremacy which the removal of Etruscan pressure had thrown open to competition, it is impossible to say. But tradition and inherent probability would incline us to believe that the struggle must have been a fierce one, and that Rome must often have been near destruction. It must be remembered that in speaking of Rome in connexion with these wars, we mean Rome as the head of the Latin cities, which shared with her

[4] Mommsen, Vol. I. p. 319. [5] *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 256 n.

the burden of her wars. The league, which was perhaps shaken by the events that accompanied the revolution, was renewed by Sp. Cassius in B.C. 493, and strengthened subsequently by the admission of the Hernici.

But Rome was in even greater danger from fightings within than from fightings without her walls.

The revolution had been the joint work of patricians and plebeians under pressure of a tyranny that affected both. But the results to the two portions of the community were very different. The patricians and their representative body, the senate, became the governing body in the state. The plebeians soon discovered that they had only exchanged one master for many. As long as the danger of a renewal of the late tyranny remained, it served no doubt to hold together the burgess body and the 'fragments' for the time being in an artificial and unnatural alliance. But as that danger passed away the two antagonistic bodies soon fell asunder and settled into their natural positions. On the one side were the fully-privileged burgesses, containing within them a few plebeian families detached from their own order by senatorian privileges (Livy, II. 1. 10), on the other, the unprivileged or semi-privileged mass. The former furnished from their numbers the magistrates who governed the whole community. The latter formed numerically the largest portion of the governed body. They had the privilege no doubt of voting for the magistrates. But even supposing that they could succeed, in spite of patrician influence in the *comitia* and actual patrician checks on the elections, in securing the patrician

magistrate whom they desired, the advantage was neutralised, if not nullified, by the limitations on the power of the chief magistrates, which necessarily followed on the revolution. Nominally successors to the royal authority, the consuls soon became practically the officials of the senate, to whom they were responsible at the expiration of their year of office. The essential feature even of the Valerian laws—the Magna Charta, as they have been called, of Rome—is the depression of the consular authority, and when it is remembered that the senate by traditional custom possessed the right of preparing and authorising beforehand all business for the *comitia*, while the patrician portion of it possessed the privilege of confirming or rejecting all the decisions of the people, it will be clear that the supreme executive body in the state was the practically patrician senate, and the consuls little more than chairmen of that body. Here then in the political division of the community into two antagonistic bodies, in the concentration of all authority, legislative, executive, judicial and religious, in patrician hands, and the consequent patrician bias in legislation, government, and the administration of justice (and that at a time when no code of written law as yet existed), lay a grave danger to the young republic. But this danger was intensified by the social division of the people into rich and poor, and the stupid indifference shown by the governing class to the material welfare of the mass. Under the kings it seems probable, as Mommsen conjectures, that plebeians as well as patricians were allowed to use the public pastures; but under the republic the principle was established that only full

burgesses were entitled to enjoy the domain land (*ager publicus*). Further than this, the rent formerly paid for the cattle grazing on the public pastures was gradually allowed to fall into abeyance, while the assignations of land to poorer burgesses and plebeians were practically discontinued. Instead of this, the custom of occupation in heritable tenancy of large portions of the *ager publicus* was introduced. The poorer members of the community and, speaking generally, the plebeians thus suffered loss in two ways. They were not only deprived of a source of livelihood, but they had to bear a heavier burden of taxation, in consequence of the cessation of income to the state from the pastures. Under the pressure of these difficulties, combined with the necessity of military service, they fell into the power of the capitalists, from whom they were obliged to borrow, and under the severe Roman law of debt became in most cases slaves or at least serfs of their creditors. In other words, the farmer and yeoman classes of Rome were beginning to be transformed into a class of villeins.

Under these circumstances, it is clear that the only chance of salvation for the state lay in the plebeians discovering in time their real power, and extorting political recognition from the patricians. That power lay in the simple fact that the patricians could not do without them. They formed numerically far the larger portion of the community, and they furnished the bulk of the Roman armies. The accounts of the annalists, who dovetail together wars and agitations, are no doubt imaginative in the extreme, but they are so far true to history that they record the consciousness of the people,

that it was the wars of Rome which taught the plebeians their own value and importance. When once this was learnt and the commons had made up their minds to act on the knowledge, the exclusive position of the patricians was sapped, and the equalization of the orders became only a matter of time. How the first step was taken it is impossible to say for certain. It must have been by some action on the part of the plebs which expressed their determination either to be recognised and protected in the community to which they nominally belonged, or to leave it. A secession would have been a very simple way of making that declaration, and, but for the variations in the accounts of the traditional secession, it might be regarded as historical. But whatever form the declaration of revolt took, the immediate results are clear and unmistakeable. The plebeians returned to Rome with the right to elect annually from their own number officials of their own, whose recognised right and duty it was to cancel the command of any patrician magistrate by which any plebeian considered himself to be aggrieved[6]. The details of the tribunician power, so far as they can be determined or conjectured, have been dealt with in the

[6] "The power of the tribunes therefore primarily involved the right of putting a stop at their pleasure to acts of administration and to the execution of the law, of enabling a person bound to military service to withhold himself from the levy with impunity, of preventing or cancelling the arrest of the condemned debtor, or his imprisonment during investigation, and other powers of the same sort....The tribunes however could not prohibit the judge from pronouncing his sentence, the senate from adopting its decree, or the centuries from giving their votes." Mommsen, I. 281.

notes on various passages in the second book. It will be sufficient to say here, that these officers, subordinate to whom were the plebeian ædiles or record-keepers, were not magistrates in the proper Roman sense, but recognised leaders or captains of the plebs, with the rights mentioned above. The plebs however having now learnt its power, it was not likely that their captains should continue to hold the comparatively humble position originally accorded to them. It is pretty clear that the tribunes rapidly acquired or assumed an appellate criminal jurisdiction[7] and a right of initiating legislation[8]. The latter was recognised and confirmed when by the lex Valeria Horatia (iii. 55) Plebiscita were made binding on all the people.

But the tribunate was not a satisfactory solution of the political difficulty, and it was less satisfactory, the more the power of the tribunes increased. The parallel authority led to perpetual collision, and reduced the city of Rome to what may be described as a condition of intermittent civil war. The history of the people in times of peace during the period between the institution of the tribunate and the appointment of the decemvirs, is a history of street riots, murders, and violations of magisterial dignity, of banishments and emigrations. The capitol was seized, and Rome threatened by a band of political refugees and slaves; the tribune Genucius was murdered because he was powerful enough to threaten the consuls; and Sp. Cassius was put to death, because his agrarian law, based on broad principles of equity and good

[7] For the causes which led to this, see Mommsen, I. 282.

[8] See note on Livy, II. 56.

statesmanship, offended the selfishness of all classes in the state. It became evident, even to the more sober-minded of the plebeians, that either the struggle between consuls and tribunes must cease, or the republic perish. If the patricians could not do without the plebeians, the plebeians could not dispense with the patricians, and if the growing power of the tribunate drove all but poorer plebeians out of Rome, these might find that they had been tribuned out of their political existence. Could not some means be devised whereby this perpetual conflict between the arbitrary jurisdiction of the patrician magistrates and the personal interference of the tribunes could be obviated? If the magistrates were bound and restricted in the exercise of their functions by a code of laws embodying in it the rights of the commons, then the necessity for the tribunician interference would be materially diminished. Even if the tribunes became unnecessary altogether, and the patricians demanded as the price of their consent to a code that the tribunate should be abolished, even that the wiser plebeians felt would be preferable to the present anarchy. So when the proposal of Tarentilius Harsa was made, to appoint five men to draw up such a code, the struggle protracted for ten years between the extreme patricians, who thought they could reduce the tribunate without submitting to a code, and the extreme plebeians, who thought that they could reduce the consular powers without surrendering the tribunate, ended in a compromise, by which ten men were elected to draw up a code of laws. These decemvirs until their work was completed were to act as supreme magistrates, super-

seding the consuls. Meanwhile the tribunate and the right of appeal were suspended. The history of the Decemvirate is well known. The moral of it is simple. The patrician decemvirs took pains to shew what the commons might expect from patrician magistrates restricted by a code of laws, and the leaders of the commons were not slow to take advantage of the lesson. The attempted union of the orders was dispersed. The decemvirs were driven from power, the old form of government restored, and the tribunate re-established with increased dignity and power, and under more binding sanctions than before[9].

[9] For details of altered position of tribunate see Mommsen, I. 294.

INTRODUCTION. II.

STYLE OF LIVY.

Livy had to form a historical style of his own—a style which could live through 150 books, and make the traditional history of their country so attractive to the Romans of his day as to induce them to read it attentively and admire, if they did not imitate, the virtues of their ancestors. There was no existing model of Roman historic style which could have suited his purpose. The older Latin annalists were rude and archaic. Tubero, the contemporary of Sallust, affected the same style. The style of Sallust himself, incisive and terse, sometimes even to obscurity, admirably adapted to biography, or biographical history, was of very limited use to an historian contemplating such a work as Livy's. Cæsar's despatch style, elaborately nude and artificially frank, skilful as it was, and skilfully as he used it for his own political purposes, was obviously of but little use as a model to a general historian. From Cicero, and the other orators, Livy could derive but little assistance, even in the purely oratorical parts of his work. There must

be a dramatic element in historical speeches which is entirely wanting in the advocate's speech. Livy then had to mould the Roman prose speech to his purposes. He found in that speech dignity, purity, perspicuity, and force. What it wanted for his purposes, was greater elasticity and greater variety. To supply this deficiency he not only availed himself of the undeveloped resources existing, so to speak, within pure Roman prose, but he took advantage of a tendency perceptible in his predecessors, notably in Sallust, and gaining ground in the every-day language of the time in which he lived—the tendency to Græcise. The meaning of the term Græcism as applied to a Roman writer should be clearly understood. It is not to be supposed that Livy; or the poets of the Augustan age, dragged into the Latin language Greek forms of expression, or Greek terms entirely alien to it, in the way in which the LXX. translators dragged Hebrew and other idioms into their Greek. What the former did was to seize on those idioms of the Latin language that assimilated to Greek, and produce or extend them in the same direction, but that, with so much care and skill, with such artful concealment, so to speak, of the joints in the process, that the full Græcism appears as the natural development of the rudimentary Latin idiom. When Horace, for example, writes, *Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos visere montes*, we feel that it is a Græcism, but we feel also that the construction is very nearly related to that of *cogo* with the infinitive. When, again, Livy uses *fallo* with a participle, to express the same as λανθάνω with a participle in Greek, we see that he is Græcising, but we

wonder that the Roman language did not develop the idiom, without the assistance of Greek. In addition to his Græcism, and more or less in connexion with it, Livy introduced a poetical element into his style, that is, a freedom of structure and usage, before his time considered to be allowable only in poets. The influence of Virgil on Livy's diction in general is distinctly traceable.

By these two means, then, in the main Livy produced these two characteristics which are the distinguishing features of his style as compared with Roman prose writers before him. In what follows I have attempted to describe these characteristics a little more in detail. For this purpose it is convenient to consider them under the three heads, of structure, syntax, and vocabulary; including under the first, peculiarities of arrangement, whether the alternation of different rhetorical styles, or the arrangement of sentences in a period, or words in a sentence; under the second, peculiarities of grammar and construction, the use of parts of speech in relation to and connexion with other parts of speech; under the third, peculiar uses of single parts of speech[1].

I. Under the head of structure, we notice:

(1) The sudden[2] transition in the narrative parts of the work from direct to oblique narration, in other words, the practice of relieving the monotony of a narrative by making the people of whom the author is

[1] For what follows, I am indebted almost entirely to Kuhnast, Die hauptpunkte der Livianischen syntax.

[2] That is, without any introducing word.

writing tell their own story. This use is limited to those cases where the thoughts, feelings, passions, etc. of the people enter into the narrative, e.g. II. ii. 3.

(2) The sudden transition in speeches from *oratio obliqua* to *oratio recta*, and vice versâ, I. 13. 2; II. 7. 9.

(3) Alternation of the periodic, and detached or open styles, and variety in the lengths of periods. Livy uses both the periodic and open styles in vivid description (comp. II. 6. 6—10, with 12. 7—14); the former is of course more natural where a single or single man's action is being described, the latter, where the action is varied or the actors more numerous. He also uses both long and short periods in quiet narrative, the former where the action is more complicated, especially by the addition of various motives. Livy's longest period (XLIII. 18. 1—5) describes the motives of Perseus in planning a campaign. A common form of period in Livy is where a subordinate sentence precedes the principal, itself being preceded by a participial construction, XXIII. 17. 1. But he exhibits great versatility in his periods, both as regards the arrangement of the subordinate clauses, and the variety of the constructions used (e.g. III. 57. 2—4).

Characteristic of his periods is a skilful complication of participles in various constructions (cf. III. 3. 6), especially in the coupling of the absolute participle to the participle in the construction of the sentence, and to adjectives, I. 1. 4.

(4) The frequent use of parenthesis, to avoid complication, especially to avoid the necessity for an awkward relative clause.

(5) Asyndetism, chiasmus, anaphora, and iteration. These figures are of course common to Livy with other writers, but he uses them very frequently, and with great skill. Chiasmus is employed in the members of a period, and in the members of a sentence: II. 40. 3, 44. 2. One noticeable form of anaphora is the repetition of a predicate in the form of a participle at the beginning of a fresh sentence, to mark the immediate sequence of action; II. 25. 5.

(6) Forms of sentence evidently modelled on Greek (*a*) interrogative, in participial and conjunctional clauses; *Quid Alpes aliud credentes quam montium altitudines; Quid ut a vobis sperent?* Comp. also III. 72. 3, *quo cum dolore hos, quo cum gaudio illos*, where *audituros* must be supplied from the previous *audire.* (*b*) Objective, in which the subject of the subordinate is made the object of the principal sentence; *Hic metus Codrionem...oppidum ut dederetur Romanis effecit?*

(7) Peculiarities in arrangement of individual members of the sentence:

The subject of a subordinate sentence preceding the principal, not being also subject to the principal, is nevertheless placed before the conjunction of the subordinate; II. 28. 5. The subject of a sentence is placed inside an ablative absolute; *Cum clausis Andranodorus Insulæ portis*, etc. The *cognomen* is preposed to the *nomen*, and the latter separated from the *prænomen*; e.g. *Ahala Servilius*, *Marcus erat Valerius*, etc. The object in dependent interrogative is placed before the interrogative word; III. 13. 7.

The adjective is separated from its substantive; (*a*) By words qualifying the latter. By this means Livy to a certain extent supplies the want of the article, which gives so much elasticity to Greek. II. 32. 11, *maturum confecto cibo sanguinem;* II. 49. 4, *Egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus*[3]. On the same principle the genitive is separated from the substantive it qualifies. II. 5. 2, *Spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis.* (*b*) By words not forming part of the qualification of the substantive; III. 16. 4.

Great freedom is used in arrangement of words in what are known as *locutiones solemnes;* e.g. Livy writes *pro virili parte* (the usual order) or *pro parte virili*, at will; he disregards the general rule of the position of *summus, primus*, etc. e.g. *luce primâ, valle mediâ*, herein assimilating to poetic usage. On the other hand, the preposing of the adjective is used for grammatical purposes as above (*a*). Specially Livian also is the predicative use of the adjective so placed, another reflexion of Greek elasticity, e.g. I. 50. 3, *Ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus*, ἀπόντι τῷ τ. πολὺς ἐνέκειτο ("for being absent").

The supine in *u* is placed freely before and after its adjective.

The verb *inquit* not unfrequently follows immediately its subject.

The auxiliary and participle in compound tenses

[3] This occurs in Cicero also, but to a much more limited extent, being confined as a rule in (*a*) to a single case or its equivalent, a preposition and a substantive; in (*b*) to a single substantive or particles.

are separated often by a considerable number of words, III. 16. 4[4].

Great freedom is used in the position of adverbs, which are placed even between substantive and attribute; II. 10. 8. *Ferme, non amplius,* etc. precede or follow the words they qualify.

Several conjunctions and particles are used in unusual positions; e.g. *Igitur,* first word in a sentence, *Namque* and *itaque,* second, etc.

(8) Poetic rhythm; *Hæc ubi dicta dedit* (Virgilian), II. 56, 1 n.

(9) Arrangement by alliteration; e.g. II. 12. 7, *Quo temere traxit fortuna facinus.*

(10) Pleonasm; *Nemo unus, Itaque ergo,* etc.

II. Under the head of syntax, we have to notice:

(1) Hypallage, e.g. II. 51. 7.

(2) Variation of gender, number, and person in the same passage; *Ad duodecim millia hostium sunt cæsa, capti quingenti;* etc. III. 6. 3, *urbanos agrestem,* 65. 11; *homines...nobis;* cf. 11. 2.

(3) Plural verb after collective nouns in the same clause. This before Livy's time is rare and confined to one or two words, the commonest being *pars.*

(4) The adjective as predicate or as attribute agreeing in gender with the sense of the substantive, e.g. *Capita conjurationis cæsi sunt; Ingens turba*

[4] In Cicero this is confined to the insertion of the subject between the participle and auxiliary, and that, where the subject is reserved to the end of the sentence.

circumfusi; and with the nearer of two substantives.

(5) Adjectival use of substantives; II. 1. 4 n.

(6) Personification, whereby a word expressing an inanimate thing is used as the subject of an action; II. 4. 3 n.

(7) Freer use of cases; e.g. of the possessive (e.g. with *totus*, III. 36. 7), objective, and partitive genitive, in imitation of Greek; use of the double genitive, showing the same tendency; free use of the descriptive genitive, especially of gerundives; dative of purpose after adjectives, e.g. *firmus, validus*, etc.; dative of purpose of gerunds and gerundives; accusative after adjective in *-bundus*, III. 47. 3 n.; free use of the circumstantial ablative, of the modal ablative without attribute; III. 18. 4 n. These are noticed in the notes as they occur.

(8) Substantival use of adjectives (*a*) in masculine and feminine; so, in various cases, in both numbers, in comparative and superlative degrees, with qualifying phrases, e.g. *Barbarus, Patricii, Plebeio et humili, Potiores, ab Hermandica profugi.* The same applies to participles, e. g. *concionatis in modum; effuse sequentes; Oriundi a Sabinis; Delecti militum; nullus* for *nemo.*

(*b*) In neuter gender (α) in singular number. So, in all cases: in genitive with case dependent on it, e.g. *quidquam humanorum certi est;* in comparative as well as positive after prepositions (this however confined to *majus*); in combination with genitives, pronouns, and adjectives, e.g. *pessimo publico:* cf. also

II. 11. 4 n. (In connexion with this may be noticed the qualification by adjective or participle of an already qualified substantive, the original qualification forming part of the whole substantive, e.g. *occulta solemnia sacrificia*, and the use of adjective or participle to extend the predicate in an ablative absolute, II. 7. 1 n.) (β) In plural, after prepositions, *per ardua*, etc., with qualifying word or phrase, in oblique cases, with another adjective or participle; *omnia*, *pleraque*, *cetera* as substantives with predicative adjective.

Many of these uses are common to Livy and Cicero, but the former largely extends the usage of the latter.

(9) Pronouns agreeing with substantives, but expressing the object after them, II. 3. 5 n. The oblique cases of pronouns frequently expressed by adverbs, II. 2. 5; indefinite relatives used without verb, II. 44. 8.

(10) Frequent use of perfect participle for the finite verb; the present and imperfect frequently used in conative and quasi-future senses, present and imperfect in *oratio obliqua* vividly for imperfect and pluperfect; indicative for subjunctive in vivid narration, II. 10. 12, in *oratio obliqua*, II. 15. 3 n.; irregularity of construction after conjunctions, e.g. postquam; frequent use of participle instead of conjunction and finite verb, especially after *quippe*, II. 33. 8 n.; Græcism and poeticism in construction after verbs, e.g. *fallo* with participle, *obstinare* and *obstinatus* with infinitive; middle use of perfect passive participle, and passive use of perfect participle of deponents; infini-

tive in dependent sentences in *oratio obliqua*, III. 9. 10 (but more distinctly, VI. 27. 6, *cum interim....objectari*); historic infinitive after conjunctions, II. 27. 1; ablative *gerund* used as = present participle, II. 9. 1 n.; etc.

11. Adverbs used as primary predicates, II. 25. 1 n.; and as attributes, *exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam.* Index s. v. Adverb.

III. Under the head of vocabulary only a few typical phenomena of expression can be noticed. A detailed list of special Livian usages would be too long for our limits, and not very useful.

(1) Synecdoche, especially in collective use of singular number of concrete nouns. Index, s. v. 'Singular.'

(2) Metonymy; (*a*) ordinary poetic, e. g. *Mars* = *bellum*, and *eventus belli*. Cf. II. 47. 10.

(*b*) Pregnant and subjective use of substantives, e. g. *indignitas, factio*, II. 30. 2 n.

(*c*) Use of abstracts for plural of concrete, e. g. *advocatio* (Livy's fondness for abstracts in *-us* is specially noticeable).

(3) A fondness for adjectives in *-bundus* and *-osus*, II. 26. 1 n.; greater freedom than in other prose writers in forming comparatives and superlatives, especially of participles, II. 60. 3 n.; a large number of participial adjectives borrowed from poets, or invented by Livy himself, expressing dress, ornament, equipment, etc., e.g. *galeatus, loricatus, linteatus, laureatus*, etc.

(4) A tendency to use simple instead of more ordinary compound verbs, e.g. *apiscor, novo* for *adi-*

piscor, *renovo*; cf. *promptus*, II. 58. 9; fondness for frequentatives.

(5) A large number of adverbs in *-ter* and *-im*; metaphorical use of adverbs, e.g. *ibi* used of time, *alibi* of manner, etc.

(6) Prepositions used in unusual senses, especially *a*, *ad*, *in*, *super*, *per*. Index s. v.

LIBER II.

LIBERI iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque 1 gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quæ libertas ut lætior esset, proximi regis su- 2 perbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt, ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctæ multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur; neque ambigitur, quin Brutus 3 idem, qui tantum gloriæ superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturæ cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque 4 plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu agitari cœpta esset tribuniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, prius- 5 quam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore assuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatæ res nondum adultæ discordia fo- 6 rent, quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent.

The Republic. Supplementing of the Senate.

7 Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annuum
imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum
8 quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Omnia
iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo
cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus
terror videretur. Brutus prior, concedente collega,
fasces habuit; qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat,
9 quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum
novæ libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus
aut donis regiis posset, iure iurando adegit, neminem
10 Romæ passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in
senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cædibus regis
deminutum patrum numerum primoribus equestris
11 gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit, tradi-
tumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui
patres quique conscripti essent; conscriptos, videlicet
novum senatum, appellabant lectos. Id mirum quan-
tum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque pa-
2 tribus plebis animos. Rerum deinde divinarum habita

Appointment of *Rex Sacrorum.* Retirement of Collatinus and banishment of all the *Gens Tarquinia.*

cura; et quia quædam publica sacra per
ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum
desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum
2 creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subie-
cere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius
tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis
undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo modum exces-
3 serint. Consulis enim alterius, quum nihil aliud
offenderet, nomen invisum civitati fuit: nimium Tar-
quinios regno assuesse; initium a Prisco factum;
regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto
oblitum, tamquam alieni, regni Superbum Tarquinium
velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso

Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse; nescire Tar-
quinios privatos vivere; non placere nomen, periculo-
sum libertati esse. Hic primo sensim tentantium ani- 4
mos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque
suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi
omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat, neminem 5
regnare passuros nec esse Romæ, unde periculum
libertati foret; id summa ope tuendum esse, neque
ullam rem, quæ eo pertineat, contemnendam. Invitum
se dicere hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas
rei publicæ vinceret: non credere populum Romanum, 6
solidam libertatem recuperatam esse; regium genus
regium nomen non solum in civitate, sed etiam in
imperio esse; id officere, id obstare libertati. "Hunc 7
tu" inquit "tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove me-
tum. Meminimus, fatemur: eiecisti reges; absolve
beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas
tibi non solum reddent cives tui, auctore me, sed, si
quid deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi; exonera
civitatem vano forsitan metu; ita persuasum est ani-
mis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum."
Consuli primo tam novæ rei ac subitæ admiratio in- 8
cluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores
civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis precibus orant.
Et ceteri quidem movebant minus; postquam Sp. 9
Lucretius, maior ætate ac dignitate, socer præterea
ipsius, agere varie, rogando alternis suadendoque
cœpit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens 10
consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum
bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia
acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omni-
bus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex 11

senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniæ
gentis exsules essent; collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis
creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

Conspiracy of partisans of the Tarquins.

3 Quum haud cuiquam in dubio esset, bellum ab
Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe om-
nium serius fuit; ceterum, id quod non
timebant, per dolum ac proditionem prope libertas
2 amissa est. Erant in Romana iuventute adolescentes
aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido
solutior fuerat, æquales sodalesque adolescentium Tar-
3 quiniorum, assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum,
æquato iure omnium, licentiam quærentes, libertatem
aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquere-
bantur: regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius,
ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiæ locum, esse beneficio;
et irasci et ignoscere posse; inter amicum atque inimi-
4 cum discrimen nosse; leges rem surdam, inexorabilem
esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti;
nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere, si modum excesseris;
periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola inno-
5 centia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte ægris animis, legati
ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione reditus bona
tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu
audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, ne
non reddita belli causa, reddita belli materia et adiu-
6 mentum essent. Interim legati alia moliri; aperte bona
repetentes clam re uperandi regni consilia struere; et
tanquam ad id, quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium
7 adolescentium animos pertentant. A quibus placide
oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt et
de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus colloquun-
4 tur. Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa

res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat,
iamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi,
Titus Tiberiusque; eos quoque in societatem consilii 2
avunculi assumunt. Præterea aliquot nobiles adoles-
centes conscii assumpti, quorum vetustate memo-
ria abiit. Interim quum in senatu vicisset sen- 3
tentia, quæ censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam
causam moræ in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium
ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent,
quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum
coniuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque in-
stando, ut litteræ sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam 4
aliter qui credituros eos, non vana ab legatis super
rebus tantis afferri? Datæ litteræ, ut pignus fidei
essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam quum 5
pridie, quam legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur,
cenatum forte apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi,
remotis arbitris, multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio
egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui
iam antea id senserat agi, sed eam occasionem, ut 6
litteræ legatis darentur, quæ deprehensæ rem coarguere
possent, exspectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad
consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos 7
coniuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem
oppressere; litterarum in primis habita cura, ne inter-
ciderent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincla coniectis,
de legatis paululum addubitatum est; et quanquam
visi sunt commisisse, ut hostium loco essent, ius tamen
gentium valuit. De bonis regiis, quæ reddi ante cen- 5
suerant, res integra refertur ad patres. Ii victi ira
vetuere reddi, vetuere in publicum redigi. Diripienda 2
plebi sunt data, ut contacta regia præda spem in per-

petuum cum iis pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum,
qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti
3 Martius deinde campus fuit. Forte ibi tum seges farris
dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum
quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stra-
mento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa
corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut
mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis hæsitantes fru-
4 menti acervos sedisse illitos limo; insulam inde paula-
tim, et aliis, quæ fert temere flumen, eodem invectis,
factam; postea credo additas moles manuque adiutum,
ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac por-
5 ticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum, damnati
proditores sumptumque supplicium, conspectius eo,
quod pœnæ capiendæ ministerium patri de liberis con-
sulatus imposuit, et, qui spectator erat amovendus,
6 eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant
deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuvenes; sed a ceteris,
velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in
se averterant oculos, miserebatque non pœnæ magis
7 homines quam sceleris, quo pœnam meriti essent: illos
eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem libera-
torem, consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, ple-
bem, quicquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset,
induxisse in animum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum
8 infesto exsuli proderent. Consules in sedem proces-
sere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium.
Nudatos virgis cædunt securique feriunt, quum inter
omne tempus pater vultusque et os eius spectaculo
esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ
9 ministerium. Secundum pœnam nocentium, ut in
utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile

esset, præmium indici pecunia ex ærario, libertas et
civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus; 10
quidam vindictæ quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum, ut, qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.

War with Veii and Tarquinii on account of the Tarquins.

His, sicut acta erant, nuntiatis, incensus Tar- 6
quinius non dolore solum tantæ ad irritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obsæptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex
Etruriæ urbes; orare maxime Veientes Tarquinien- 2
sesque, ne se ab se ortum, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem, egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos; se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata coniuratione
pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus 3
regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, adiuvarent; suas quoque veteres iniurias ultum irent, toties cæsas legio-
nes, agrum ademptum. Hæc moverunt Veientes, ac 4
pro se quisque, Romano saltem duce ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda, minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet; pulchrum
videbatur, suos Romæ regnare. Ita duo duarum civi- 5
tatium exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules
eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; 6

Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eo-
dem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit; præ-
erat Arruns Tarquinius, filius regis; rex ipse cum
7 legionibus sequebatur. Arruns ubi ex lictoribus
procul, consulem esse, deinde iam propius ac certius
facie quoque Brutum cognovit, inflammatus ira "Ille
est vir" inquit, "qui nos extorres expulit patria.
Ipse en ille nostris decoratus insignibus magnifice in-
8 cedit. Di regum ultores, adeste." Concitat calcari-
bus equum atque in ipsum infestus consulem dirigit.
Sensit in se iri Brutus; decorum erat tum ipsis ca-
pessere pugnam ducibus; avide itaque se certamini
9 offert; adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter,
dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendi corporis me-
mor, ut contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus,
duabus hærentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint.
10 Simul et cetera equestris pugna cœpit, neque ita multo
post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et
velut æquo Marte pugnatum est; dextera utrinque
11 cornua vicere, læva superata. Veientes, vinci ab
Romano milite assueti, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis,
novus hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte
7 Romanum pepulit. Ita quum pugnatum esset, tantus
terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut, omissa
irrita re, nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquinien-
2 sisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adiiciunt mira-
cula huic pugnæ: silentio proximæ noctis ex silva
Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam
creditam; hæc dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in
3 acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere,
Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro victis; nam post-
quam illuxit nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat,

P. Valerius consul spolia legit, triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegæ funus, quanto tum potuit 4
apparatu, fecit; sed multo maius morti decus publica fuit mæstitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronæ annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatæ pudicitiæ fuisset.

Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles 5
vulgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo, sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum affectare fama ferebat, quia 6
nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti et ædificabat in summa Velia: alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore. Hæc dicta vulgo cre- 7
ditaque quum indignitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo, summissis fascibus in contionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia confessionemque factam, populi quam consulis maiestatem vimque maiorem esse. Ibi audire iussis, consul 8
laudare fortunam collegæ, quod liberata patria, in summo honore, pro re publica dimicans, matura gloria necdum se vertente in invidiam, mortem occubuisset; se superstitem gloriæ suæ ad crimen atque invidiam superesse; ex liberatore patriæ ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidisse. "Nunquamne ergo" inquit "ulla 9
adeo vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subiturum timerem? Ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me 10
crederem posse a civibus meis? Tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides, ut, ubi sim, quam qui sim, magis referat?

Valerius falls under suspicion.

11 Non obstabunt Publii Valerii ædes libertati vestræ,
Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia; deferam non in
planum modo ædes, sed colli etiam subiiciam, ut vos
supra suspectum me civem habitetis; in Velia ædifi-
cent, quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas."
12 Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam et, ubi
nunc Vicæ Potæ *ædes* est, domus in infimo clivo ædifi-
8 cata. Latæ deinde leges, non solum quæ regni suspi-

Leges Valeriæ. Consecration of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

cione consulem absolverent, sed quæ adeo
in contrarium verterent, ut popularem
etiam facerent; inde cognomen factum
2 Publicolæ est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus
magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite
eius, qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratæ in vul-
3 gus leges fuere. Quas quum solus pertulisset, ut sua
unius in iis gratia esset, tum demum comitia collegæ
4 subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul,
qui magno natu, non sufficientibus iam viribus ad con-
sularia munera obeunda, intra paucos dies moritur.
Suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius Pulvillus.
5 Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucre-
tium consulem; Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt;
credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consula-
tum, memoriam intercidisse.

6 Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis ædes;
Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti, uter dedicaret.
Horatio sorte evenit; Publicola ad Veientium bellum
7 profectus. Ægrius, quam dignum erat, tulere Valerii
necessarii, dedicationem tam incliti templi Horatio
dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam
alia frustra tentata erant, postem iam tenenti consuli
fœdum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiunt,

mortuum eius filium esse, funestaque familia dedicare
eum templum non posse. Non crediderit factum, an 8
tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec
interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuntium
a proposito aversus, quam ut cadaver efferri iuberet,
tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum.

Hæc post exactos reges domi militiæque gesta 9
primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum,
T. Lucretius consules facti. Iam Tar-
quinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum re-
gem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque
nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem san-
guinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur, nunc 2
monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges
inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dul-
cedinis. Nisi, quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta 3
regna reges defendant, æquari summa infimis; nihil
excelsum, nihil, quod supra cetera emineat, in civita-
tibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos homi-
nesque pulcherrimæ. Porsinna, quum regem esse 4
Romæ, tum Etruscæ gentis regem, amplum Tuscis
ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non unquam 5
alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit; adeo valida
res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsinnæ nomen.
Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne
Romana plebs metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regi-
bus, vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur 6
blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. An-
nonæ in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum com-
parandum missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas. Salis
quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio veni-

War with Porsinna. Exploits of Horatius, Mucius and Clœlia. 9

bat, in publicum omne sumptum, ademptum privatis;
portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites con-
ferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis sti-
7 pendii pendere, si liberos educerent. Itaque hæc
indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in ob-
sidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut
regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horre-
8 rent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam
popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus
senatus fuit.

10 Quum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex
agris demigrant; urbem ipsam sæpiunt præsidiis.
2 Alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta; pons
sublicius iter pæne hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset,
Horatius Cocles; id munimentum illo die fortuna
3 urbis Romanæ habuit. Qui positus forte in statione
pontis, quum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum
atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidam-
que turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, re-
prehensans singulos, obsistens obtestansque deum et
hominum fidem testabatur, nequicquam deserto præsi-
4 dio eos fugere; si transitum pontem a tergo reliquis-
sent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam
in Ianiculo fore. Itaque monere, prædicere, ut pon-
tem ferro, igni, quacunque vi possint, interrumpant;
se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset ob-
5 sisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum
pontis, insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugna
terga obversis comminus ad ineundum prœlium armis,
6 ipso miraculo audaciæ obstupefecit hostes. Duos ta-
men cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Hermi-
7 nium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his pri-

mam periculi procellam et quod tumultuosissimum
pugnæ erat, parumper sustinuit; deinde eos quoque
ipsos, exigua parte pontis relicta, revocantibus, qui
rescindebant, cedere in tutum coegit. Circumferens 8
inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum
nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes: ser-
vitia regum superborum, suæ libertatis immemores
alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu 9
sunt, dum alius alium, ut prœlium incipiant, circum-
spectant; pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore
sublato undique in unum hostem tela coniiciunt.
Quæ quum in obiecto cuncta scuto hæsissent, neque 10
ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu,
iam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, quum simul
fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum, alacri-
tate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore subito impetum
sustinuit. Tum Cocles "Tiberine pater" inquit, "te 11
sancte precor, hæc arma et hunc militem propitio
flumine accipias." Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desi-
luit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad
suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famæ habituram ad
posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem 12
civitas fuit; statua in comitio posita; agri quantum
uno die circumaravit, datum. Privata quoque inter 13
publicos honores studia eminebant; nam in magna
inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid,
fraudans se ipse victu suo, contulit.

Porsinna primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab op- **11**
pugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, præsidio in
Ianiculo locato, ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra
posuit, navibus undique accitis et ad custodiam, ne 2
quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut præ-

datum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque
3 aliis locis traiicerent; brevique adeo infestum omnem
Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera solum ex
agris, sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compellere-
tur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet.
4 Hoc tantum licentiæ Etruscis non metu magis quam
consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul intentus
in occasionem multos simul et effusos improviso adori-
undi, in parvis rebus negligens ultor, gravem se ad
5 maiora vindicem servabat. Itaque ut eliceret præda-
tores, edicit suis, postero die frequentes porta Esqui-
lina, quæ aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus,
scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame
6 servitia infida transfugerent. Et sciere perfugæ in-
dicio; multoque plures, ut in spem universæ prædæ,
7 flumen traiiciunt. P. Valerius inde T. Herminium
cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via
occultum considere iubet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita
iuventute ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis
prætereat; inde se obiicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus.
8 Consulum alter T. Lucretius porta Nævia cum aliquot
manipulis militum egressus; ipse Valerius Cælio
monte cohortes delectas educit, hique primi apparuere
9 hosti. Herminius ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex
insidiis, versisque in Lucretium Etruscis terga cædit;
dextra lævaque, hinc a porta Collina, illinc ab Nævia,
10 redditus clamor; ita cæsi in medio prædatores, neque
ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam sæptis omnibus
viis. Finisque ille tam effuse evagandi Etruscis fuit.

12 Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa
caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem
2 spem Porsinna habebat, quum C. Mucius, adolescens

nobilis, cui indignum videbatur, populum Romanum
servientem, quum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab
hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum
ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum sæpe exercitus
fuderit, [itaque] magno audacique aliquo facinore eam 3
indignitatem vindicandam ratus primo sua sponte
penetrare in hostium castra constituit; dein metuens, 4
ne, si consulum iniussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte
deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut
transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen affirmante, sena-
tum adit. "Transire Tiberim" inquit, "patres, et 5
intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non prædo nec
populationum in vicem ultor; maius, si di iuvant, in
animo est facinus." Approbant patres; abdito intra
vestem ferro proficiscitur. Ubi eo venit, in confertis- 6
sima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi 7
quum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba
cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret, eum
milites vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari, uter Porsinna
esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret, quis
esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro
rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam 8
turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, quum,
concursu ad clamorem facto, comprehensum regii satel-
lites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum
quoque inter tantas fortunæ minas metuendus magis
quam metuens, "Romanus sum" inquit "civis; C. 9
Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui, nec
ad mortem minus animi est, quam fuit ad cædem; et
facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te 10
ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem
petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si iuvat,

accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo,
11 ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiæ. Hoc
tibi iuventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam
aciem, nullum prœlium timueris; uni tibi et cum sin-
12 gulis res erit." Quum rex simul ira incensus pericu-
loque conterritus circumdari ignes minitabundus iu-
beret, nisi expromeret propere, quas insidiarum sibi
13 minas per ambages iaceret, "En tibi" inquit, "ut
sentias, quam vile corpus sit iis, qui magnam gloriam
vident," dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo
iniicit. Quam quum velut alienato ab sensu torreret
animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex, quum ab sede
sua prosiluisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem ius-
14 sisset, "Tu vero abi" inquit, "in te magis quam in
me hostilia ausus. Iuberem macte virtute esse, si pro
mea patria ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli liberum
15 te, intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto." Tunc Mu-
cius, quasi remunerans meritum, "Quando quidem"
inquit "est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris
a me, quod minis nequisti, trecenti coniuravimus
principes iuventutis Romanæ, ut in te hac via gras-
16 saremur. Mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, ut cuiusque
ceciderit primi, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit,
suo quisque tempore aderunt."

13 Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scævolæ a clade
dextræ manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsinna
2 Romam secuti sunt; adeo moverat eum et primi peri-
culi casus, quo nihil se præter errorem insidiatoris
texisset, et subeunda dimicatio toties, quot coniurati
superessent, ut pacis condiciones ultro ferret Romanis.
3 Iactatum in condicionibus nequicquam de Tarquiniis
in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse ne-

quiverat Tarquiniis, quam quod negatum iri sibi ab
Romanis ignoraret. De agro Veientibus restituendo 4
impetratum, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis,
si Ianiculo præsidium deduci vellent. His
condicionibus composita pace, exercitum ab Ianiculo
deduxit Porsinna et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. 5
Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere,
quæ postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo, 6
ita honorata virtute, feminæ quoque ad publica decora
excitatæ, et Clœlia virgo una ex obsidibus, quum
castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata
essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum
inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit sospitesque omnes
Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nun- 7
tiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit
ad Clœliam obsidem deposcendam: alias haud magni 8
facere; deinde in admirationem versus, supra Coclites
Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et præ se ferre, quemadmodum,
si non dedatur obses, pro rupto fœdus se
habiturum, sic deditam *intactam* inviolatamque ad
suos remissurum. Utrinque constitit fides: et Ro- 9
mani pignus pacis ex fœdere restituerunt, et apud
regem Etruscum non tuta solum, sed honorata etiam
virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se
donare dixit; ipsa, quos vellet, legeret. Productis 10
omnibus, elegisse impubes dicitur; quod et virginitati
decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat,
eam ætatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quæ maxime
opportuna iniuriæ esset. Pace redintegrata, Romani 11
novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua
equestri, donavere; in summa Sacra via fuit posita
virgo insidens equo.

Mos bona Porsinnæ vendendi.

14 Huic tam pacatæ profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci
abhorrens mos traditus ab antiquis usque
ad nostram ætatem inter cetera sollem-
2 nia manet, bona Porsinnæ regis vendendi. Cuius
originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam
esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore crevisse
principio, quam hic præ se ferat titulus bona hos-
3 tiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis, quæ
traduntur, Porsinnam discedentem ab Ianiculo castra
opulenta, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etru-
riæ arvis commeatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi
4 tum urbe ab longinqua obsidione; ea deinde, ne popu-
lo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque
Porsinnæ appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante
titulo quam auctionem fortunæ regiæ, quæ ne in po-
testate quidem populi Romani esset.

Invasion of Aricia by Porsinna.

5 Omisso Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in
ea loca exercitus adductus videretur,
cum parte copiarum filium Arruntem
6 Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primo Aricinos res
necopinata perculerat; arcessita deinde auxilia et a
Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut
acie decernere auderent. Prœlio inito, adeo concitato
impetu se intulerant Etrusci, ut funderent ipso
7 incursu Aricinos: Cumanæ cohortes arte adversus
vim usæ declinavere paululum, effuseque prælatos
8 hostes conversis signis ab tergo adortæ sunt. Ita in
medio prope iam victores cæsi Etrusci. Pars perexi-
gua, duce amisso, quia nullum propius perfugium erat,
Romam inermes et fortuna et specie supplicum delati
9 sunt. Ibi benigne excepti divisique in hospitia. Cu-
ratis vulneribus, alii profecti domos, nuntii hospita-

lium beneficiorum; multos Romæ hospitum urbisque caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt.

P. Lucretius inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules 15
facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Por-
sinna de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio
venerunt; quibus quum responsum esset,
missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim
honoratissimus quisque e patribus. Non quin breviter 2
reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi reges, ideo potius
delectos patrum ad eum missos, quam legatis eius
Romæ daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio
eius rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in
vicem animi sollicitarentur, quum ille peteret, quod
contra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi
in perniciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent, cui
nihil negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Roma- 3
num, sed in libertate esse. Ita induxisse in animum,
hostibus potius portas quam regibus patefacere; ea
esse vota omnium, ut, qui libertati erit in illa urbe
finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde, si salvam esse vellet 4
Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse, orare. Rex vere- 5
cundia victus "Quando id certum atque obstinatum
est" inquit, "neque ego obtundam sæpius eadem ne-
quicquam agendo, nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod
nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello
opus est seu quiete, exsilio quærant locum, ne quid
meam vobiscum pacem distineat." Dictis facta amici- 6
ora adiecit; obsidum quod reliquum erat, reddidit;
agrum Veientem, fœdere ad Ianiculum icto adem-
ptum, restituit. Tarquinius, spe omni reditus incisa, 7
exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tuscu-

Final negotiations with Porsinna, and retirement of Tarquinius to Tusculum.

lum abiit. Romanis pax fida [ita] cum Porsinna
fuit.

16 Consules M. Valerius, P. Postumius. Eo anno
War with Sabines. Migration of Claudii to Rome.
bene pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules
2 triumpharunt. Maiore inde mole Sabini
bellum parabant. Adversus eos, et ne quid simul
ab Tusculo, unde etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen
bellum erat, repentini periculi oriretur, P. Valerius
3 quartum, T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio
inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum
4 inde virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attus
Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romæ nomen,
quum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur
nec par factioni esset, ab Inregillo, magna clientium
5 comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data
agerque trans Anienem; vetus Claudia tribus, additis
postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro, appel-
lati. Appius inter patres lectus, haud ita multo post
6 in principum dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto
exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti quum ita vasta-
tione, dein prœlio afflixissent opes hostium, ut diu
nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes
Romam redierunt.

7 P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacis-
que artibus, anno post Agrippa Menenio, P. Postumio
consulibus moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus
adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset; de publico
8 est datus. Luxere matronæ ut Brutum. Eodem anno
duæ coloniæ Latinæ, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos
deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque
ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus
ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pome-

tiam compulsum est. Nec magis post prœlium quam 9
in prœlio cædibus temperatum est: et cæsi aliquanto
plures erant quam capti, et captos passim trucidave-
runt; ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti
numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romæ
triumphatum.

Secuti consules Opiter Verginius, Sp. Cassius 17
Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus
oppugnarunt. In quos Aurunci magis iam inexpiabili 2
odio quam spe aliqua aut occasione coorti, quum plures
igni quam ferro armati excucurrissent, cæde incendio-
que cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium 3
vulneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum (sed
nomen auctores non adiiciunt) gravi vulnere ex equo
deiectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male 4
gesta re reditum; inter multos saucios consul spe in-
certa vitæ relatus. Interiecto deinde haud magno
spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exerci-
tui satis esset, quum ira maiore, tum viribus etiam
auctis Pometiæ arma illata. Et quum, vineis refectis 5
aliaque mole belli, iam in eo esset, ut in muros eva-
deret miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihilo minus 6
fœda, dedita urbe, quam si capta foret, Aurunci passi;
principes securi percussi; sub corona venierunt coloni
alii; oppidum dirutum, ager veniit. Consules magis 7
ob iras graviter ultas quam ob magnitudinem perfecti
belli triumpharunt.

Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Lar- 18
cium consules habuit. Eo anno Romæ, 2
quum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuventute
per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum
rixa ac prope prœlium fuit, parvaque ex re ad re-

Appointment of First Dictator.

3 bellionem spectare res videbatur. Super belli Latini metum id quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos, concitante Octavio Mamilio, satis con-
4 stabat. In hac tantarum exspectatione rerum sollicita civitate, dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniana essent (id quoque enim traditur), parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat.
5 Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Larcium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos invenio. Consulares legere; ita lex iubebat de dicta-
6 tore creando lata. Eo magis adducor, ut credam Larcium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M'. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum;
7 quia, si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem vellent, patrem multo potius M. Valerium, spectatæ virtutis et consularem virum, legissent.

8 Creato dictatore primum Romæ, postquam præferri secures viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum; neque enim, ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium neque provocatio erat neque ullum usquam nisi
9 in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romæ dictator, eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace
10 mittunt. Quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque, ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum, ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non
11 posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent. Actum tamen est de pace, impetrataque foret, si, quod impensæ factum in bellum erat, præstare Sabini (id enim postulatum

erat) in animum induxissent. Bellum indictum; tacitæ indutiæ quietum annum tenuere.

Consules Ser. Sulpicius, M'. Tullius; nihil dignum 19
memoria actum; T. Æbutius deinde et
C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenæ ob- 2
sessæ, Crustumeria capta; Præneste ab
Latinis ad Romanos descivit, nec ultra
bellum Latinum, gliscens iam per aliquot
annos, dilatum. A. Postumius dicta- 3
tor, T. Æbutius magister equitum, magnis copiis
peditum equitumque profecti, ad lacum Regillum in
agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt, et quia 4
Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est,
sustineri ira non potuit, quin extemplo confligerent.
Ergo etiam prœlium aliquanto quam cetera gravius 5
atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam
modo consilio rem affuere, sed suismet ipsi corporibus
dimicantes miscuere certamina, nec quisquam procerum
ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine vulnere præter dictato-
rem Romanum excessit. In Postumium prima in acie 6
suos adhortantem instruentemque Tarquinius Super-
bus, quanquam iam ætate et viribus erat gravior,
equum infestus admisit, ictusque ab latere concursu
suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu 7
Æbutius magister equitum in Octavium Mamilium
impetum dederat; nec fefellit veniens Tusculanum
ducem, contraque et ille concitat equum. Tantaque 8
vis infestis venientium hastis fuit, ut brachium
Æbutio traiectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum.
Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere; 9
Æbutius quum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset,
pugna excessit. Latinus dux nihil deterritus vulnere 10

Latin War. Battle of Lake Regillus. Single combats between Æbutius and Mamilius, Valerius and Tarquinius, Herminius and Mamilius. Death of Valerius and Mamilius.

prœlium ciet et, quia suos perculsos videbat, arcessit
cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui L. Tarquinii filius
præerat. Ea quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona
patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.
20 Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis,
M. Valerius Publicolæ frater, conspicatus ferocem
iuvenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exsulum
2 acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cuius familiæ
decus eiecti reges erant, eiusdem interfecti forent,
subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo pe-
3 tit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit
hosti; Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem
ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit, nec quicquam
equitis vulnere equo retardato, moribundus Romanus,
labentibus super corpus armis, ad terram defluxit.
4 Dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem virum,
exsules ferociter citato agmine invehi, suos perculsos
5 cedere animadvertit, cohorti suæ, quam delectam
manum præsidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum,
ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habe-
ant. Ita metu ancipiti versi a fuga Romani in hostem
6 et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum
prœlium iniit; integris corporibus animisque fessos
7 adorti exsules cædunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta
pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exsulum a
dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex
subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum
8 rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus
conspicatus, interque eos insignem veste armisque Ma-
milium noscitans, tanto vi maiore quam paulo ante
9 magister equitum cum hostium duce prœlium iniit, ut
et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium et

ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, quum victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam
curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator 10
advolat, obtestans, ut, fesso iam pedite, descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruere; desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum et pro antesignanis
parmas obiiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris 11
acies, postquam iuventutis proceres æquato genere pugnæ secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impulsi Latini perculsaque inclinavit acies.
Equiti admoti equi, ut persequi hostem posset; secuta 12
et pedestris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinæ nec humanæ opis dictator prætermittens ædem Castori vovisse fertur ac pronuntiasse militi præmia, qui primus, qui secun-
dus castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardor fuit, ut 13
eodem impetu, quo fuderant hostem Romani, castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediere.

First Saturnalia. Death of Superbus. Colony of Signia. Roman tribes increased to 21.

Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. 21
Consules Q. Clœlius et T. Larcius, inde
A. Sempronius et M. Minucius. His 2
consulibus ædes Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. A. deinde
Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc de- 3
mum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiæ fidei fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum.
Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios 4
ordinatis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum quos, nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non rerum modo, sed etiam auctorum digerere possis.

5 App. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules
facti. Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis.
Mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum
6 ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio
erecti patres, erecta plebes; sed patribus nimis luxu-
riosa ea fuit lætitia; plebi, cui ad eam diem summa
ope inservitum erat, iniuriæ a primoribus fieri cœpere.
7 Eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius
deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta
est. Romæ tribus una et viginti factæ. Ædes Mer-
curii dedicata est idibus Maiis.

War with Volsci.

22 Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax
neque bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci com-
paraverant auxilia, quæ mitterent Latinis,
ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset, et maturavit
Romanus, ne prœlio uno cum Latino Volscoque conten-
2 deret. Hac ira consules in Volscum agrum legiones dux-
ere. Volscos consilii pœnam non metuentes necopinata
res perculit; armorum immemores obsides dant trecen-
tos principum a Cora atque Pometia liberos. Ita
3 sine certamine inde abductæ legiones. Nec ita multo
post Volscis levatis metu suum rediit ingenium.
Rursus occultum parant bellum, Hernicis in societa-
4 tem armorum assumptis. Legatos quoque ad sollici-
tandum Latium passim dimittunt; sed recens ad
Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos ira odioque
eius, quicunque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem
violandis abstinuit; comprehensos Volscos Romam
duxere. Ibi traditi consulibus indicatumque est,
5 Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis. Re-
lata re ad senatum, adeo fuit gratum patribus, ut et
captivorum sex millia Latinis remitterent et de fœdere.

quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad
novos magistratus reiicerent. Enimvero tum Latini 6
gaudere facto; pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse.
Coronam auream Iovi donum in Capitolium mittunt.
Cum legatis donoque, qui captivorum remissi ad suos
fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo venit. Pergunt 7
domos eorum, apud quem quisque servierant; gratias
agunt liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate sua;
inde hospitia iungunt. Nunquam alias ante publice
privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio con-
iunctius fuit.

Increase of debt among poor Romans. The aged debtor. Agitations for relief.

Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat et civitas 23
secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres
plebemque flagrabat odio, maxime prop-
ter nexos ob æs alienum. Fremebant, 2
se, foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi
a civibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in
bello quam in pace et inter hostes quam inter cives
libertatem plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte
gliscentem insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno 3
natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insigni-
bus se in forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis,
fœdior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti; ad 4
hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris.
Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines
duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiæ decora vulgo mise-
rantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot
locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat.
Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, 5
quum circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis mo-
dum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter
populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa

incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum
iniquo suo tempore imperatum, æs alienum fecisse.
6 Id cumulatum usuris primo se agro paterno avitoque
exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis; postremo velut tabem
pervenisse ad corpus; ductum se ab creditore non
in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse.
7 Inde ostentare tergum fœdum recentibus vestigiis
verberum. Ad hæc visa auditaque clamor ingens
oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus tenet, sed passim
8 totam urbem pervadit. Nexi vincti solutique se un-
dique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium
fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes;
multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore
9 in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo, qui forte
10 patrum in foro erant, in eam turbam inciderunt; nec
temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P.
Servilius et App. Claudius, ad comprimendam sedi-
tionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa
11 ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. Hæc
se meritos dicere, exprobrantes suam quisque alius
alibi militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam
suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent; curiamque ipsi fu-
turi arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsis-
12 tunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat,
contracti ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia mo-
do, sed etiam foro arcebat, nec agi quicquam per in-
13 frequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque
extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum qui abessent,
non casu, non metu, sed impediendæ rei causa abesse,
et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubie ludibrio esse
14 miserias suas. Iam prope erat, ut ne consulum qui-
dem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, quum incerti,

morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt. Frequentique [tandem] curia, non modo inter patres, sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero arrepto, quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat quum tutius, tum facilius esse.

Volscian invasion. Promises of Servilius to plebeians.

Inter hæc maior alius terror: Latini equites cum 24
tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam
venire. Quæ audita (adeo duas ex una
civitate discordia fecerat) longe aliter patres ac plebem
affecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes; ultores superbiæ 2
patrum adesse dicere deos; alius alium confirmare, ne
nomina darent; cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut
penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos præmia, essent. At vero curia, mæsta ac trepida ancipiti metu 3
et ab cive et ab hoste, Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum consul, 4
misso senatu, in contionem prodit. Ibi curæ esse
patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte
civitatis metum pro universa re publica intervenisse;
nec posse, quum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello 5
præverti quicquam, nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut
plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta, arma
pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus satis decorum
per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate afflictis

6 civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni de-
inde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis
civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret,
quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules po-
testas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset,
bona possideret aut venderet, liberos nepotesve
7 eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto, et, qui ade-
rant nexi, profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex
tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, quum re-
tinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum,
8 ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit,
neque aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque
opera enituit.

Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo diri-
25 mente intervallo castra ponit. Proxima
inde nocte Volsci, discordia Romana freti,
si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri posset, ten-
tant castra. Sensere vigiles; excitatus exercitus;
signo dato concursum est ad arma; ita frustra id
2 inceptum Volscis fuit. Reliquum noctis utrinque
quieti datum. Postero die prima luce Volsci fossis
3 repletis vallum invadunt. Iamque ab omni parte mu-
nimenta vellebantur, quum consul, quanquam cuncti
undique et nexi ante omnes, ut signum daret, cla-
mabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper
moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato
tandem ad erumpendum signo militem avidum certa-
4 minis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes;
fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga cæsa;
eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra,
legionibus circumdatis, quum Volscos inde etiam pavor
5 expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam

Defeat of Volsci and capture of Suessa Pometia.

Pometiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis,
intra paucos dies oppidum capitur; captum prædæ
datum. Inde paulum recreatus egens miles; consul 6
cum maxima gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam
reducit. Decedentem [Romam] Ecetranorum Vols-
corum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam cap-
tam, adeunt. His ex senatus consulto data pax, ager
ademptus.

Confestim et Sabini Romanos territavere; tumul- 26
tus enim fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte
in urbem nuntiatum est, exercitum Sabi-
num prædabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisse;
ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extem- 2
plo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius,
qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus consul Servi-
lius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque palantes 3
eques circumvenit, nec advenienti peditum agmini
restitit Sabina legio. Fessi quum itinere, tum
populatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti
cibo vinoque, vix fugæ quod satis esset virium
habuere.

Sabine scare.

Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero 4
die, in magna iam spe undique partæ pacis, legati
Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro,
bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Au- 5
runcorum domo profectus erat; cuius fama haud
procul iam ab Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit
Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine patres nec pacatum
responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes dare
possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur; nec procul 6
inde cum Auruncis signa collata, prœlioque uno de-
bellatum est.

> Plebeians demand fulfilment of promises. Appius Claudius rages. Servilius temporises. Dispute about dedication of temple of Mercury, and decision of people, who appoint a centurion to discharge the duty. Plebs are still clamouring for relief. Appius raging. A Sabine war is threatened, but plebeians refuse to serve. Servilius observing a 'popular silence,' falls between two stools.

27 Fusis Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis
Romanus promissa consulis fidemque se-
natus exspectabat, quum Appius et insita
superbia animo, et ut collegæ vanam fa-
ceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat, ius
de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et,
qui ante nexi fuerant, creditoribus trade
2 bantur et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi
cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat.
Concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius
promissa iactabant; illi exprobrabant sua
quisque belli merita cicatricesque accep-
tas. Postulabant, ut aut referret ad se-
natum aut [ut] auxilio esset consul civibus suis, im-
3 perator militibus. Movebant consulem hæc, sed ter-
giversari res cogebat; adeo in alteram causam non
collega solum præceps erat, sed omnis factio nobilium.
Ita medium se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium nec
4 apud patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem
et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem, brevique apparuit
5 adæquasse eum Appii odium. Certamen consulibus
inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercurii ædem. Senatus a
se rem ad populum reiecit: utri eorum dedicatio iussu
populi data esset, eum præesse annonæ, mercatorum
collegium instituere, sollemnia pro pontifice iussit sus-
6 cipere. Populus dedicationem ædis dat M. Lætorio,
primi pili centurioni, quod facile appareret non tam
ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data
7 esset, factum quam ad consulum ignominiam. Sævire
inde utique consulum alter patresque; sed plebi cre-
verant animi, et longe alia, quam primo instituerant,
8 via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatus-

que auxilio, quum in ius duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis præ strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, quum decresset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metus- 9
que omnis et periculum, quum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super hæc timor incessit Sabini belli; 10
dilectuque decreto, nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegæ, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet: non esse tamen 11
desertam omnino rem publicam neque proiectum consulare imperium; se unum et suæ et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. Quum circumstaret quotidiana 12
multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille quum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit; nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi ægre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore; adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde 13
malum in dies, non clamoribus modo apertis, sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum 28
ineunt. Tum vero plebs incerta, quales habitura consules esset, cœtus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars in Aventino, facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et

Nightly gatherings of Plebeians. Levy held, but people refuse to answer to their names

2 omnia temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam ad patres deferunt, sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit; adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequendum esset,
3 invidiam eius consules ad senatum reiicerent. Profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romæ nisi publicum consilium; nunc in mille curias contionesque, quum alia [in] Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant concilia, dispersam et dissipa-
4 tam esse rem publicam. Unum hercule virum (id enim plus esse quam consulem), qualis App. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discussurum illos cœtus
5 fuisse. Correpti consules quum, quid ergo se facere vellent (nihil enim segnius molliusve, quam patribus placeat, acturos), percontarentur, decernunt, ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant: otio lascivire plebem.
6 Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores. Quum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum ne-
7 gare, ultra decipi plebem posse; nunquam unum militem habituros, ni præstaretur fides publica; libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut
8 pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnent. Consules, quid mandatum esset a senatu, videbant, sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiæ ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse invidiæ suæ participem; et apparebat
9 atrox cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque, quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum propere convolavere minimus quisque natu patrum, abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

Utraque re satis experta, tum demum consules: "Ne 29
prædictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest
ingens seditio. Postulamus, ut ii, qui
maxime ignaviam increpant, adsint nobis
habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque
arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus."
Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim 2
unum ex iis, qui in conspectu erant, dedita opera iu-
bent. Quum staret tacitus et circa eum aliquot homi-
num, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem
ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum vero in- 3
dignum facinus esse clamitantes, qui patrum consuli-
bus aderant, devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio
essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam prendere 4
prohibito, quum conversus in patres impetus esset,
consulum intercursu rixa sedata est, in qua tamen
sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam
iniuriæ fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumul- 5
tuosius consulitur, quæstionem postulantibus iis, qui
pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non
sententiis magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem 6
quum iræ resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus, ni-
hilo plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine
consuli cœpit. Tres fuere sententiæ. P. Verginius 7
rem non vulgabat; de iis tantum, qui fidem secuti P.
Servilii consulis Volsco, Aurunco Sabinoque militas-
sent bello, agendum censebat. T. Larcius, non id 8
tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur;
totam plebem ære alieno demersam esse, nec sisti
posse, ni omnibus consulatur; quin, si alia aliorum
sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari.
App. Claudius, et natura immitis et efferatus hinc 9

The consuls upbraided by the Senate for not acting vigorously, after solemn protest, make a second attempt. Riot in forum and tumultuous meeting of Senate. Finally,

plebis odio, illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait, sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascivire
10 magis plebem quam sævire. Id adeo malum ex provocatione natum; quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos, qui una peccaverint, provocare
11 liceat. "Age dum" inquit, "dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus; iam hic, quo nunc omnia
12 ardent, conticiscet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, qui sciet, ius de tergo vitaque sua penes unum illum esse, cuius maiestatem violarit."

M'. Valerius is appointed dictator. The Plebs are mitigated for the time. War against Aequi, Volsci and Sabines. Colony of Velitrae.

30 Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appii sententia; rursus Verginii Larciique exemplo haud salubres; utique Larcii [putabant sententiam], quæ totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium Verginii habebatur;
2 sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quæ semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit, ut dictator ille idem crearetur;
3 quæ res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, quum Volsci Æquique et Sabini forte una
4 omnes in armis essent. Sed curæ fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperii vis vehemens mansueto
5 permitteretur ingenio: M'. Valerium dictatorem Volesi filium creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, quum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec
6 superbum timebat; edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos, Servilii fere consulis edicto conveniens; sed et homini et potestati melius
7 rati credi, omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus nunquam ante exercitus, legiones decem ef-

fectæ; ternæ inde datæ consulibus, quattuor dictator usus.

Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Æqui Latinum 8
agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant, ut aut mitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius 9
visum est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est; is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Æqui campis, locoque magis quam armis freti summis se iugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereret 10
tempus, vastandis maxime agris hostem ad conferenda propius castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio 11
inter castra campo, ante suum quisque vallum, infestis signis constitere. Multitudine aliquantum Volsci 12
superabant; itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus, defixis pilis stare suos iussit: ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coortos tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et clamore fessi 13
quum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in prœlium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnæ 14
quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facile adepti fessos et castra impetu ceperunt et castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem irrupere; plusque ibi sanguinis pro- 15
miscua omnium generum cæde quam in ipsa dimicatione factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in **31**

deditionem venerunt. Dum hæc in Volscis geruntur,
dictator Sabinos, ubi longe plurimum belli fuerat,
2 fundit fugatque exuitque castris. Equitatu immisso
mediam turbaverat hostium aciem, quam, dum se cor-
nua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum ordinibus
firmaverant; turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu
3 castra capta debellatumque est. Post pugnam ad
Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior
fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super
solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spec-
4 taculum datus; sella in eo loco curulis posita. Vol-
scis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras
coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum Æquis
post aliquanto pugnatum est, invito quidem consule,
5 quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed
milites extrahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, prius-
quam ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret irrita-
que, sicut ante consulis, promissa eius caderent,
perpulere, ut forte temere in adversos montes agmen
6 erigeret. Id male commissum ignavia hostium in
bonum vertit, qui, priusquam ad coniectum teli
veniretur, obstupefacti audacia Romanorum, relictis
castris, quæ munitissimis tenuerant locis, in aversas
valles desiluere. Ibi satis prædæ et victoria incruenta
fuit.

Ineffectual attempts of Valerius to procure fulfilment of promises to the Plebs.

7 Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum
rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi
cura decesserat: tanta quum gratia,
tum arte præparaverant feneratores, quæ
non modo plebem, sed ipsum etiam dicta-
8 torem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusii
consulis reditum omnium actionum in senatu primam

habuit pro victore populo, rettulitque, quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quæ quum reiecta relatio esset, "Non 9
placeo" inquit "concordiæ auctor. Optabitis, mediusfidius, propediem, ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Dis- 10
cordiæ intestinæ, bellum externum fecere, ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica; pax foris parta est, domi impeditur; privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero." Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, suam vicem indignantem 11
magistratu abisse; itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin præstaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

Timor inde patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exer- 32
citus foret, rursus cœtus occulti coniurationesque fierent. Itaque quanquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurasset, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Æquis belli educi

The Patricians endeavouring to keep the soldiers under arms, the first secession is made. The mission of Menenius Agrippa and appointment of Tribunes.

ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est 2
seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum cæde, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde, nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. (Trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe millia passuum. Ea frequentior fama est quam, cuius Piso auctor est, 3
in Aventinum secessionem factam esse.) Ibi sine 4
ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris, quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese

5 tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo sus-
pensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes
violentiam patrum; timere patres residem in urbe
6 plebem, incerti, manere eam an abire mallent. Quam-
diu autem tranquillam, quæ secesserit, multitudinem
fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim
7 bellum exsistat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia
civium spem reliquam ducere; eam per æqua, per
8 iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur
oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, fa-
cundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi
carum. Is, intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi
et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur:
9 Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum
consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique con-
silium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes,
sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quæri,
ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis volup-
10 tatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum
ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent.
Hac ira, dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una
membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse.
11 Inde apparuisse, ventris quoque haud segne ministe-
rium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in
omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque,
divisum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo san-
12 guinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis
seditio similis esset iræ plebis in patres, flexisse
33 mentes hominum. Agi deinde de concordia cœptum,
concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus
essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus con-
sules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum

liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et 2
L. Albinius. Hi tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisse, seditionis auctorem; de duobus, qui fuerint, minus convenit. Sunt, qui quos tantum 3
in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant ibique sacratam legem latam.

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus 4
Cominius consulatum inierant. His consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum fœdus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romæ mansit; alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque; compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus mœnibus potitur. Inde 5
protinus Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit; tum magna vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores iuvenum Cn. Marcius, adolescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Quum subito exercitum Romanorum Coriolos 6
obsidentem atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminentis belli, Volscæ legiones, profectæ ab Antio, invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. Is cum delecta militum 7
manu non modo impetum erumpentium rettudit, sed per patentem portam ferox irrupit in proxima urbis, cædeque facta ignem temere arreptum imminentibus muro ædificiis iniecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum 8
mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu ad terrorem, ut solet, primum orto et Romanis auxit animum et turbavit Volscos, utpote capta urbe, cui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli 9
oppidum captum; tantumque sua laude obstitit famæ

League of Sp. Cassius with Latius. War with Volscians, in which Cn. Marcius distinguishes himself by capture of Corioli.

consulis Marcius, ut, nisi fœdus cum Latinis columna
aenea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno,
quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bel-
lum gessisse cum Volscis, memoria cessisset.

10 Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni
vita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem
11 carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque con-
cordiæ civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori
plebis Romanæ in urbem sumptus funeri defuit; extu-
lit eum plebs sextantibus collatis in capita.

Famine. Corn refused by many states. That sent by Cumae seized by Aristodemus. Large supplies from Sicily.

34 Consules deinde T. Geganius, P. Minucius facti.
Eo anno quum et foris quieta omnia a
bello essent et domi sanata discordia,
aliud multo gravius malum civitatem in-
2 vasit, caritas primum annonæ ex incultis
per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis *esse*
3 clausis solet. Ventumque ad interitum servitiorum
utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent, dimissis
passim ad frumentum coemendum, non in Etruriam mo-
do dextris ab Ostia litoribus, lævoque per Volscos mari
usque ad Cumas, sed [quæsitum] in Siciliam quoque;
adeo finitimorum odia longinquis coegerant indigere
4 auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis quum coemptum esset,
naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno,
qui heres erat, retentæ sunt; in Volscis Pomptinoque
ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu
5 hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit; ex Tuscis fru-
mentum Tiberi venit; eo sustentata est plebs. Incom-
modo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni
Volscos iam moventes arma pestilentia ingens inva-
6 sisset. Ea clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam,
ubi ea remisisset, terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris

auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbam in
montes novam coloniam, quæ arx in Pomptino esset,
miserunt.

M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus 7
magna vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta,
agitatumque in senatu, quanti plebi dare-
tur. Multi venisse tempus premendæ 8
plebis putabant recuperandique iura, quæ
extorta secessione ac vi patribus essent.

Coriolanus begins to agitate against the Plebs, but is overtaken by them and obliged to go into exile. His designs against his country.

In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciæ potes-
tatis, "Si annonam" inquit "veterem volunt, ius 9
pristinum reddant patribus. Cur ego plebeios magis-
tratus, cur Sicinium potentem video, sub iugum mis-
sus, tanquam ab latronibus redemptus? Egone has 10
indignitates diutius patiar, quam necesse est? Tar-
quinium regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram?
Secedat nunc; avocet plebem; patet via in Sacrum
montem aliosque colles; rapiant frumenta ex agris
nostris, quemadmodum tertio anno rapuere. Fruantur 11
annona, quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere, hoc
malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore, quam
ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant." Haud 12
tam facile dictu est, faciendumne fuerit, quam potuisse
arbitror fieri, ut condicionibus laxandi annonam et
tribuniciam potestatem et omnia invitis iura imposita
patres demerent sibi. Et senatui nimis atrox visa 35
sententia est et plebem ira prope armavit. Fame se
iam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari; peregri-
num frumentum, quæ sola alimenta ex insperato for-
tuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi Cn. Marcio vincti
dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanæ satis-
fiat; cum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui aut mori

2 aut servire iubeat. In exeuntem e curia impetus
factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent.
Ibi ira est suppressa; se iudicem quisque, se dominum
3 vitæ necisque inimicis factum videbat. Contemptim
primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias; auxilii, non
pœnæ ius datum illi potestati, plebisque, non patrum
tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs, ut
4 unius pœna defungendum esset patribus. Restiterunt
tamen adversa invidia, usique sunt qua suis quisque,
qua totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo tentata res est, si,
dispostis clientibus, absterrendo singulos a coitionibus
5 conciliisque disiicere rem possent. Universi deinde
processere (quicquid erat patrum, reos diceres) preci-
bus plebem exposcentes, unum sibi civem, unum sena-
torem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente
6 donarent. Ipse quum die dicta non adesset, perseve-
ratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in Volscos exsu-
latum abiit, minitans patriæ hostilesque iam tum
spiritus gerens.

Venientem Volsci benigne excepere, benigniusque
in dies colebant, quo maior ira in suos eminebat cre-
bræque nunc querelæ, nunc minæ percipiebantur.
7 Hospitio utebatur Attii Tullii. Longe is tum princeps
Volsci nominis erat Romanisque semper infestus. Ita
quum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimu-
8 laret, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facile
credebant plebem suam impelli posse, ut toties infeli-
citer tentata arma caperent: multis sæpe bellis, pesti-
lentia postremo amissa iuventute fractos spiritus esse;
arte agendum in exoleto iam vetustate odio, ut recenti
aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

36 Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romæ paraban-

Attius Tullius and the *ludi magni ex instauratione facti.* War of Volscians against Rome under Attius Tullius, and Cn. Marcius Coriolanus.

tur. Instaurandi hæc causa fuerat. Ludis mane servum quidam pater familiæ, nondum commisso spectaculo, sub furca cæsum medio egerat circo; cœpti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset.
Haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, 2
somnium fuit; visus Iuppiter dicere, sibi ludis præsultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, 3
verecundia tamen maiestatis magistratuum [timorem] vicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. Magno 4
illi ea cunctatio stetit; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cuius repentinæ cladis ne causa dubia esset, ægro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satin' magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. Iam præsentior res erat. Cunc- 5
tantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enimvero deorum ira 6
admonuit. Fessus igitur malis præteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito, quum visa atque audita et obversatum toties somno Iovem, minas irasque cælestes repræsentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubio omnium, qui aderant, in forum ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in curiam 7
iussu consulum delatus, eadem illa quum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omnibus membris delatus in 8
curiam esset, eum, functum officio, pedibus suis domum redisse, traditum memoriæ est.

Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decrevit. 37

Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio vis magna Volscorum
2 venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut
domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules
venit; dicit esse, quæ secreto agere de re publica
3 velit. Arbitris remotis, "Invitus" inquit, "quod
sequius sit, de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen ad-
missum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed cautum,
4 ne admittant. Nimio plus, quam vellem, nostrorum
5 ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus,
quippe qui non nostro merito, sed vestra patientia
incolumes simus. Magna hic nunc Volscorum mul-
titudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit.
6 Memini, quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum
iuventute in hac urbe commissum sit; horret animus,
ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. Hæc nostra vestra-
que causa prius dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum.
7 Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in
animo est, ne cuius facti dictive contagione præsens
8 violer." Hæc locutus abiit. Consules quum ad patres
rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis,
ut fit, quam res ad præcavendum vel ex supervacuo
movit, factoque senatus consulto, ut urbe excederent
Volsci, præcones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos proficisci
9 ante noctem iuberent. Ingens pavor primo discur-
rentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit; pro-
ficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut conscele-
ratos contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, cœtu
38 quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse. Quum
prope continuato agmine irent, prægressus Tullius ad
caput Ferentinum, ut quisque veniret, primores eorum
excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos, sedulo
audientes secunda iræ verba, et per eos multitudinem

aliam in subiectum viæ campum deduxit. Ibi in con- 2
tionis modum orationem exorsus *adversus* veteres populi Romani iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, "Ut omnia" inquit "obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per
nostram ignominiam ludos commisere? An non sen- 3
sistis, triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? vestras coniuges, vestros liberos tra-
ductos per ora hominum? Quid eos, qui audivere 4
vocem præconis, quid, qui nos videre abeuntes, quid eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii, existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse, quo, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri; ideo nos ab sede piorum, cœtu concilio-
que abigi? Quid deinde? illud non succurrit, vivere 5
nos, quod maturarimus proficisci? si hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est, magno
eorum malo, qui indixere, si viri estis." Ita et sua 6
sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere, ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum 39
sententia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exsul
Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam 2
spem nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret, ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios profectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit
liberamque eam urbem Volscis tradidit; inde in Lati- 3
nam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus Satricum,

Longulam, Poluscam, Coriolos, novella hæc Romanis
4 oppida ademit; inde Lavinium recepit; tum deinceps
Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebium, Lavicos, Pedum cepit.
5 Postremum ad urbem a Pedo ducit, et ad fossas Cluilias quinque ab urbe millia passuum castris positis,
populatur inde agrum Romanum, custodibus inter
6 populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis sive ut discordia inde
7 inter patres plebemque oreretur. Quæ profecto orta
esset (adeo tribuni iam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant); sed externus
timor, maximum concordiæ vinculum, quamvis sus-
8 pectos infensosque inter se iungebat animos. Id modo
non conveniebat, quod senatus consulesque nusquam
alibi spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia
9 quam bellum malebat. Sp. Nautius iam et Sex.
Furius consules erant. Eos recensentes legiones, præsidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes vigiliasque
esse placuerat, loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens
pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterruit,
deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad Cn. Mar-
10 cium mittendis coegit. Acceperunt relationem patres,
postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de
pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum rettule-
11 runt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace;
si præda belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et
civium iniuriæ et hospitum beneficii annisurum, ut
appareat exsilio sibi irritatos, non fractos animos esse.
12 Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra.
Sacerdotes quoque suis insignibus velatos isse supplices
ad castra hostium, traditum est; nihilo magis quam
legatos flexisse animum. Tum matronæ ad Veturiam

matrem Coriolani Volumniamque uxorem frequentes
coeunt. Id publicum consilium an muliebris timor
fuerit, parum invenio; pervicere certe, ut et Veturia, 2
magno natu mulier, et Volumnia duos parvos ex
Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium irent et,
quoniam armis viri defendere urbem non possent,
mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. Ubi ad 3
castra ventum est nuntiatumque Coriolano est, adesse
ingens mulierum agmen, primo, ut qui nec publica
maiestate in legatis nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa
oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo obstina-
tior adversus lacrimas muliebres erat; dein familia- 4
rium quidam, qui insignem mæstitia inter ceteras
cognoverat Veturiam, inter nurum nepotesque stan-
tem, "Nisi me frustrantur" inquit "oculi, mater tibi
coniuxque et liberi adsunt." Coriolanus prope ut 5
amens consternatus ab sede sua quum ferret matri
obviæ complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa
"Sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam" inquit,
"ad hostem an ad filium venerim, captiva materne in
castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita et infelix 6
senecta traxit, ut exsulem te, deinde hostem viderem?
Potuisti populari hanc terram, quæ te genuit atque 7
aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci
perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, quum
in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit: Intra illa mœnia
domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, coniux liberique?
Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; 8
nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua
essem. Sed ego nihil iam pati nec tibi turpius nec
mihi miserius possum, nec, ut sim miserrima, diu
futura sum; de his videris, quos, si pergis, aut imma- 9

tura mors aut longa servitus manet." Uxor deinde
ac liberi amplexi, fletusque ab omni turba mulierum
ortus et comploratio sui patriæque fregere tandem
10 virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab
urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex
agro Romano, invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt,
11 alii alio leto. Apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum
auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem in-
venio; refert certe, hanc sæpe eum exacta ætate usur-
12 passe vocem, multo miserius seni exsilium esse. Non
inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani (adeo
sine obtrectatione gloriæ alienæ vivebatur), monumen-
toque quod esset, templum Fortunæ muliebri ædificatum
dedicatumque est.

Rediere deinde Volsci, adiunctis Æquis, in agrum
Romanum; sed Æqui Attium Tullium haud ultra
13 tulere ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Æquine
imperatorem coniuncto exercitui darent, seditio, de-
inde atrox prœlium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Ro-
mani duos hostium exercitus haud minus pernicioso
quam pertinaci certamine confecit.

14 Consules T. Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Volsci,
Aquilio Hernici (nam ii quoque in armis erant) pro-
vincia evenit. Eo anno Hernici devicti; cum Volscis
æquo Marte discessum est.

41 Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules
facti. Cum Hernicis fœdus ictum; agri
partes duæ ademptæ. Inde dimidium
Latinis, dimidium plebi divisurus consul
2 Cassius erat. Adiiciebat huic muneri agri aliquan-
tum, quem publicum possideri a privatis criminabatur.
Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo

Lex Agraria of Sp. Cassius. His unpopularity and fall.

rerum suarum terrebat; sed et publica patribus solli-
citudo inerat, largitione consulem periculosas libertati
opes struere. Tum primum lex agraria promulgata 3
est, nunquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine
maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter largi- 4
tioni resistebat, auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe
adversante, quæ primo cœperat fastidire munus vulga-
tum: a civibus isse in socios; sæpe deinde et Vergi- 5
nium consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem au-
diebat, pestilens collegæ munus esse; agros illos servi-
tutem iis, qui acceperint, laturos; regno viam fieri.
Quid ita enim assumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid 6
attinuisse, Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri
partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut eæ gentes pro Coriolano
duce Cassium habeant? Popularis iam esse dissuasor 7
et intercessor legis agrariæ cœperat. Uterque deinde
consul certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere,
passurum se assignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Ro-
mano assignentur; Cassius, quia in agraria largitione 8
ambitiosus in socios eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio
munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, iubere pro
Siculo frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo.
Id vero haud secus quam præsentem mercedem regni 9
aspernata plebes; adeo propter suspicionem insitam
regni, velut abundarent omnia, munera eius in animis
hominum respuebantur. Quem, ubi primum magis- 10
tratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt,
qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: eum, cog-
nita domi causa, verberasse ac necasse peculiumque
filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse
et inscriptum: Ex Cassia familia datum. Invenio 11
apud quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quæstoribus

Cæsone Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis,
damnatumque populi iudicio, dirutas publice ædes.
12 Ea est area ante Telluris ædem. Ceterum, sive illud
domesticum sive publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur
Servio Cornelio, Q. Fabio consulibus.

Wars with Veientes and confederate armies of Volsci and Æqui. Struggles between Plebs and Patricians about the Agrarian law.

42 Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dul-
cedo agrariæ legis ipsa per se, dempto
auctore, subibat animos, accensaque ea
cupiditas est malignitate patrum, qui,
devictis eo anno Volscis Æquisque, mili-
2 tem præda fraudavere. Quicquid cap-
tum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul ac rede-
git in publicum.

Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novis-
simum consulem; tenuere tamen patres, ut cum
3 L. Æmilio Cæso Fabius consul crearetur. Eo infes-
tior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum externum
excivit. Bello deinde civiles discordiæ intermissæ;
uno animo patres ac plebs rebellantes Volscos et
4 Æquos duce Æmilio prospera pugna vicere. Plus
tamen hostium fuga quam prœlium absumpsit; adeo
pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt equites.

Temple of Castor.

5 Castoris ædes eodem anno idibus Quinti-
libus dedicata est; vota erat Latino bello a Postumio
dictatore; filius eius, duumvir ad id ipsum creatus,
6 dedicavit. Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agra-
riæ legis animi plebis. Tribuni plebi popularem
potestatem lege populari celebrabant; patres, satis
superque gratuiti furoris in multitudine credentes esse,
largitiones temeritatisque invitamenta horrebant.
Acerrimi patribus duces ad resistendum consules
7 fuere. Ea igitur pars rei publicæ vicit, nec in præsens

modo, sed in venientem etiam annum M. Fabium, Cæsonis fratrem, et magis invisum alterum plebi accusatione Sp. Cassii, L. Valerium, consules dedit.

Certatum eo quoque anno cum tribunis est. Vana 8
lex vanique legis auctores iactando irritum munus facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens post tres continuos consulatus unoque velut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciis certaminibus habitum; itaque, ut bene locatus, mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos. Bellum inde 9
Veiens initum, et Volsci rebellarunt; sed ad bella externa prope supererant vires, abutebanturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere 10

Prodigies, and punishment of Vestal Virgin.

ad ægras iam omnium mentes prodigia cælestia, prope quotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique ita numinis causam nullam aliam vates canebant, publice privatimque nunc extis, nunc per aves consulti, quam haud rite sacra fieri; qui terrores tandem eo evasere, ut Oppia 11
virgo Vestalis damnata incesti pœnas dederit.

Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius consules facti. Eo 43
anno non segnior discordia domi et bellum foris atrocius fuit. Ab Æquis arma sumpta; Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum crescente cura, Cæso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Æqui op- 2
pugnabant; Veientes, pleni iam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnaturos minabantur.

Sp. Licinius, tribune, is opposed by his fellow tribunes in trying to prevent levy.

Qui terrores quum compescere deberent, 3
auxere insuper animos plebis, redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detrectandi militiam, sed Sp. Licinius tribunus plebis, venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariæ patribus

iniungendæ, susceperat rem militarem impediendam.
4 Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciæ potestatis versa in
auctorem est, nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius
collegæ coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dilectum consu-
5 les habent. Ad duo simul bella exerci-
tus scribitur; ducendus Fabio in Veien-
tes, in Æquos Furio datur. Et in Æquis
6 quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est; Fabio ali-
quanto plus negotii cum civibus quam cum hostibus
fuit. Unus ille vir, ipse consul, rem publicam susti-
nuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit,
7 prodebat. Nam quum consul præter ceteras impera-
torias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit
plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem, ut solo equitatu
emisso exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos
8 pedes noluit; nec illos, etsi non adhortatio invisi du-
cis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in præsentia
dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset,
cogere potuit gradum accelerare aut, si aliud nihil,
9 stare instructos. Iniussu signa referunt, mæstique
(crederes victos), exsecrantes nunc imperatorem, nunc
10 navatam ab equite operam, redeunt in castra. Nec
huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore
quæsita sunt; adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius de-
fuerit ars, qua civem regant, quam qua hostem supe-
11 rent. Consul Romam rediit non tam belli gloria
aucta quam irritato exacerbatoque in se militum
odio. Obtinuere tamen patres, ut in Fabia gente
consulatus maneret: M. Fabium consulem creant;
Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.

Bad behaviour of troops under Fabius.

44 Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariæ ha-
buit. Tib. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut

processisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper impediit. Perturbatis iterum patribus App. Claudius victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in præsentia re, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum sit, suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim unquam defutu- 3
rum, qui et ex collega victoriam sibi et gratiam melioris partis bono publico velit quæsitam; et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Darent modo et consules et primores patrum operam, 4
ut, si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicæ ac senatui conciliarent. Præceptis Appii moniti 5
patres et universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare, et consulares, ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid iuris adversus singulos erat, partim gratia, partim auctoritate obtinuere, ut tribuniciæ potestatis vires salubres vellent rei publicæ esse, novemque tribunorum 6
adversus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum consules habent.

Further use of tribunes against tribune by Patricians. 2

Inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo undique ex 7
Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veientium gratia concitata, quam quod in spem ventum erat, discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Princi- 8
pesque in omnium Etruriæ populorum conciliis fremebant, æternas opes Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus sæviant: id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu susten- 9
tatum id malum, partim patrum consiliis, partim patientia plebis, iam ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates

Great muster of all Etruria. The Roman soldiers, at first disloyal, repent and retrieve their honour in a great battle. Popularity of Fabii.

ex una factas; suos cuique parti magistratus, suas
10 leges esse. Primum in dilectibus sævire solitos, eos-
dem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus. Qualicunque
urbis statu, manente disciplina militari sisti potuisse;
iam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra quo-
11 que Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsa
acie, in ipso certamine, consensu exercitus traditam
ultro victoriam victis Æquis, signa deserta, imperato-
12 rem in acie relictum, iniussu in castra reditum. Pro-
fecto, si instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Ni-
hil aliud opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum;
cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos. Hæ spes
Etruscos armaverant, multis in vicem casibus victos
45 victoresque. Consules quoque Romani nihil præterea
aliud quam suas vires, sua arma horrebant; memoria
pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem com-
mitterent eo, ubi duæ simul acies timendæ essent.
2 Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi:
diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leniturum iras sanita-
3 temque animis allaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique
eo magis præpropere agere; lacessere ad pugnam
primo obequitando castris provocandoque, postremo, ut
nihil movebant, qua consules ipsos, qua exercitum in-
4 crepando: simulationem intestinæ discordiæ remedium
timoris inventum, et consules magis non confidere
quam non credere suis militibus; novum seditionis
genus, silentium otiumque inter armatos. Ad hæc in
novitatem generis originisque qua falsa, qua vera
5 iacere. Hæc quum sub ipso vallo portisque strepe-
rent, haud ægre consules pati; at imperitæ multitudi-
ni nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare et ab
intestinis avertere malis: nolle inultos hostes, nolle

successum, non patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant 6
externa; adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in prætorium conveniunt; poscunt pugnam, postulant, ut signum detur. Consules velut de- 7
liberabundi capita conferunt, diu colloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant, sed retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum, im- 8
maturam rem agi; nondum tempus pugnæ esse; castris se tenerent. Edicunt inde, ut abstineant pugna: si quis iniussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus consules velle credunt, 9
crescit ardor pugnandi. Accendunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisse non pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se insultaturos; non credi 10
militi arma; rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque venisse Romano imperio. His freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra; ægre abstinent, quin castra oppugnent. Enimvero non ultra contumeliam 11
pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad consules curritur; non iam sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fa- 12
bius deinde, ad crescentem tumultum iam metu seditionis collega concedente, quum silentium classico fecisset: "Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem, ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum atque 13
decretum est non dare signum, nisi victores se redituros ex hac pugna iurant. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit: deos nunquam fallet." Centurio erat M. Flavoleius, inter primores pugnæ flagitator.

14 "Victor" inquit, "M. Fabi, revertar ex acie"; si
fallat, Iovem patrem Gradivumque Martem aliosque
iratos invocat deos. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus
in se quisque iurat. Iuratis datur signum: arma ca-
15 piunt; eunt in pugnam irarum speique pleni. Nunc
iubent Etruscos probra iacere, nunc armati sibi quis-
16 que lingua promptum hostem offerri. Omnium illo die,
qua plebis, qua patrum, eximia virtus fuit; Fabium
nomen [Fabia gens] maxime enituit; multis civilibus
certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi
reconciliare statuunt.

46 Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscæque
legiones detrectant. Prope certa spes erat, non magis
secum pugnaturos, quam pugnarint cum Æquis; maius
quoque aliquod in tam irritatis animis et occasione an-
2 cipiti haud desperandum esse facinus. Res aliter
longe evenit; nam non alio ante bello infestior Ro-
manus (adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules
3 mora exacerbaverant) prœlium iniit. Vix explicandi
ordines spatium Etruscis fuit, quum, pilis inter pri-
mam trepidationem abiectis temere magis quam emis-
sis, pugna iam in manus, iam ad gladios, ubi Mars est
4 atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium
insigni spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his
Q. Fabium (tertio hic anno ante consul fuerat) princi-
pem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox viribus et
armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versan-
tem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo
5 extracto, præceps Fabius in vulnus abiit. Sensit
utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde Ro-
manus, quum M. Fabius consul transiluit iacentis
corpus obiectaque parma, "Hoc iurastis" inquit,

"milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adeo
ignavissimos hostes magis timetis quam Iovem Mar-
temque, per quos iurastis? At ego iniuratus aut vic- 6
tor revertar aut prope te hic, Q. Fabi, dimicans
cadam." Consuli tum Cæso Fabius, prioris anni
consul: "Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent, te im-
petraturum credis? Dii impetrabunt, per quos iura- 7
vere; et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est
dignum, pugnando potius quam adhortando accenda-
mus militum animos." Sic in primum infestis hastis
provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.
Prœlio ex parte una restituto, nihilo segnius in cornu 47
altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat, ubi prope
similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu 2
Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium iam
velut fusos agentem hostes et impigre milites secuti
sunt et, ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, inter-
fectum rati gradum rettulere; cessissentque loco, ni 3
consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam par-
tem citato equo advectus, vivere clamitans collegam,
se victorem, fuso altero cornu, adesse, rem inclinatam
sustinuisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem 4
se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora
accendunt militum animos. Simul et vanior iam erat
hostium acies, dum, abundante multitudine freti, sub-
tracta subsidia mittunt ad castra oppugnanda. In 5
quæ haud magno certamine impetu facto, quum
prædæ magis quam pugnæ memores tererent tempus,
triarii Romani, qui primam irruptionem sustinere non
potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiis, quo loco res
essent, conglobati ad prætorium redeunt et sua sponte
ipsi prœlium renovant. Et Manlius consul revectus 6

in castra, ad omnes portas milite opposito, hostibus
viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis
quam audaciam accendit. Nam quum incursantes,
quacunque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquoties
impetu issent, globus iuvenum unus in ipsum consu-
7 lem insignem armis invadit. Prima excepta a circum-
stantibus tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit; consul
mortifero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes.
8 Tuscis crescit audacia; Romanos terror per tota
castra trepidos agit, et ad extrema ventum foret, ni
legati, rapto consulis corpore, patefecissent una porta
9 hostibus viam. Ea erumpunt; consternatoque agmine
abeuntes in victorem alterum incidunt consulem; ibi
iterum cæsi fusique passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam
10 claris funeribus. Itaque consul, decernente senatu
triumphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare
possit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum res-
pondit; se, familia funesta Q. Fabii fratris morte, re-
publica ex parte orba, consule altero amisso, publico
privatoque deformem luctu lauream non accepturum.
11 Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit;
adeo spreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior
redit. Funera deinde duo deinceps collegæ fratrisque
ducit, idem in utroque laudator, quum concedendo
illis suas laudes ipse maximam partem earum ferret.
12 Neque immemor eius, quod initio consulatus imbibe-
rat, reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curan-
dos dividit patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati, nec alibi
maiore cura habiti. Inde populares iam esse Fabii
nec hoc ulla nisi salubri rei publicæ arte.

48 Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiis

K. Fabius cum T. Verginio consul factus neque belli
neque dilectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere
quam ut, iam aliqua ex parte inchoata concordiæ spe,
primo quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent
animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam 2
quisquam agrariæ legis auctor tribunus existeret, occu-
parent patres ipsi suum munus facere; captivum agrum
plebi quam maxime æqualiter darent; verum esse,
habere eos, quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit.
Aspernati patres sunt; questi quoque quidam, nimia 3
gloria luxuriare et evanescere vividum quondam illud
Cæsonis ingenium.

Nullæ deinde urbanæ factiones fuere; vexabantur 4
incursionibus Æquorum Latini. Eo cum exercitu
Cæso missus in ipsorum Æquorum agrum depopulan-
dum transit. Æqui se in oppida receperunt murisque
se tenebant; eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit. At a 5
Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius con-
sulis, actumque de exercitu foret, ni K.
Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset.
Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bel-
lum cum Veientibus fuit; res proxime
formam latrocinii venerat. Legionibus 6
Romanis cedebant in urbem; ubi ab-
ductas senserant legiones, agros incur-
sabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem elu-
dentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat;
et alia bella aut præsentia instabant, ut ab Æquis
Volscisque, non diutius, quam recens dolor proximæ
cladis transiret, quiescentibus, aut mox moturos ap-
parebat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque omnem.
Sed Veiens hostis, assiduus magis quam gravis, con- 7

The war with Veii dragging on in a desultory manner, when the Fabii offer to undertake it. Their march from Rome, actions against the Veientes, and destruction at the Cremera.

tumeliis sæpius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod
nullo tempore negligi poterat aut averti alio sinebat.
8 Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente
loquitur: "Assiduo magis quam magno præsidio, ut
scitis, patres conscripti, bellum Veiens eget. Vos
alia bella curate, Fabios hostes Veientibus date.
Auctores sumus, tutam ibi maiestatem Romani no-
9 minis fore. Nostrum id nobis velut familiare bellum
privato sumptu gerere in animo est; res publica et
10 milite illic et pecunia vacet." Gratiæ ingentes actæ.
Consul e curia egressus comitante Fabiorum agmine,
qui in vestibulo curiæ senatus consultum exspectantes
steterant, domum redit. Iussi armati postero die ad
49 limen consulis adesse; domos inde discedunt. Manat
tota urbe rumor; Fabios ad cælum laudibus ferunt:
familiam unam subisse civitatis onus; Veiens bellum
2 in privatam curam, in privata arma versum. Si sint
duæ roboris eiusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant hæc
Volscos sibi, illa Æquos: populo Romano tranquillam
pacem agente, omnes finitimos subigi populos posse.
Fabii postera die arma capiunt; quo iussi erant, con-
3 veniunt. Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo
gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; ac-
ceptus in medium signa ferri iubet. Nunquam exer-
citus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et
4 admiratione hominum per urbem incessit. Sex et
trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis,
quorum neminem ducem sperneres, egregius quibus-
libet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiæ viribus
5 Veienti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba,
propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium,
nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium

animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, favore et
admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, ire felices iubent, 6
inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac
triumphos, omnia præmia ab se, omnes honores
sperare. Prætereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et 7
alia templa, quicquid deorum oculis, quicquid animo
occurrit, precantur, ut illud agmen faustum atque
felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes
restituant. Incassum missæ preces. Infelici via, 8
dextro iano portæ Carmentalis, profecti ad Cremeram
flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus com-
muniendo præsidio.

L. Æmilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. 9
Et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit,
non ad præsidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant,
sed tota regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet,
sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium, vagantes per utrum-
que finem, fecere. Intervallum deinde haud mag- 10
num populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes, accito ex
Etruria exercitu, præsidium Cremeræ oppugnant, et
Romanæ legiones ab L. Æmilio consule adductæ
cominus cum Etruscis dimicant acie; quanquam vix
dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit; adeo inter 11
primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines in-
troeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere
Romana equitum ala non pugnæ modo incipiendæ,
sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro ad saxa 12
Rubra (ibi castra habebant), pacem supplices petunt.
Cuius impetratæ, ab insita animis levitate, ante de-
ductum Cremera Romanum præsidium pænituit.

Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo, sine ullo 50
maioris belli apparatu, certamen; nec erant incur-

siones modo in agros aut subiti impetus in incursantes,
sed aliquoties æquo campo collatisque signis certatum,
2 gensque una populi Romani sæpe ex opulentissima,
ut tum res erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tulit.
3 Id primo acerbum indignumque Veientibus est visum;
inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem
captandi; gaudere etiam, multo successu Fabiis au-
4 daciam crescere. Itaque et pecora prædantibus ali-
quoties, velut casu incidissent, obviam acta, et agres-
tium fuga vasti relicti agri, et subsidia armatorum,
ad arcendas populationes missa, sæpius simulato quam
5 vero pavore refugerunt. Iamque Fabii adeo contemp-
serant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque
tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Hæc spes
provexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno
campi intervallo pecora, quanquam rara hostium ap-
6 parebant arma, decurrerent. Et quum improvidi
effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superas-
sent palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore iniecto,
raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur; et
7 adversi et undique hostes erant. Primo clamor cir-
cumlatus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant;
coeuntibusque Etruscis, iam continenti agmine arma-
torum sæpti, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogebantur
8 breviore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere, quæ res et
paucitatem eorum insignem et multitudinem Etru-
9 scorum, multiplicatis in arto ordinibus, faciebat. Tum
omissa pugna, quam in omnes partes parem intende-
rant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant; eo nisi
10 corporibus armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via
in editum leniter collem. Inde primo restitere; mox,
ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipien-

dique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam sub-
euntes, vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo
circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset. Ita 11
superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii cæsi ad unum
omnes præsidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex
perisse satis convenit, unum prope puberem ætate
relictum, stirpem genti Fabiæ dubiisque rebus populi
Romani sæpe domi bellique vel maximum futurum
auxilium.

March of the Veientines upon Rome. Two battles at temple of Hope and Colline Gate. Scarcity in Rome.

Quum hæc accepta clades est, iam C. Horatius 51
et T. Menenius consules erant. Mene-
nius adversus Tuscos victoria elatos con-
festim missus. Tum quoque male pug- 2
natum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupa-
vere; obsessaque urbs foret, super bellum annona
premente (transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim), ni
Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus. Adeoque
id bellum ipsis institit mœnibus, ut primo pugnatum
ad Spei sit æquo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam.
Ibi quanquam parvo momento superior Romana res 3
fuit, meliorem tamen militem, recepto pristino animo,
in futura prœlia id certamen fecit.

A. Verginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post 4
acceptam proxima pugna cladem Veientes abstinuere
acie; populationes erant, et velut ab arce Ianiculo
passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant; non
usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde 5
eadem arte sunt, qua ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita
opera passim ad illecebras propulsa pecora præcipita-
vere in insidias; quo plures erant, maior cædes fuit.
Ex hac clade atrox ira maioris cladis causa atque 6
initium fuit. Traiecto enim nocte Tiberi, castra

Servilii consulis adorti sunt oppugnare. Inde fusi 7 magna cæde in Ianiculum se ægre recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Ianiculo communit. Postero die luce orta nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnæ ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in præcipitia, dum celeriora essent, 8 agebat consilia, temere adverso Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, fœdiusque inde pulsus, quam pridie pepulerat, interventu collegæ ipse exercitusque 9 est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, quum in vicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

Prosecution of Menenius son of c. 32 and Sp. Servilius by tribunes.

52 Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit, et advecto ex Campania frumento et, postquam timor sibi cuique futuræ inopiæ abiit, eo, quod abditum fuerat, prolato. 2 Ex copia deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quærere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege; in resistentes incitare patres, nec in universos modo, sed 3 in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariæ legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiæ erat amissum Cremeræ præsidium, quum haud procul inde 4 stativa consul habuisset; ea oppressit, quum et patres haud minus quam pro Coriolano annisi essent et 5 patris Agrippæ favor hauddum exolevisset. In multa temperarunt tribuni; quum capitis anquisissent, duo millia æris damnato multam dixerunt, Ea in caput vertit; negant tulisse ignominiam ægritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse.

6 Alius deinde reus, Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim

anni ab L. Cædicio et T. Statio tribunis die dicta,
non, ut Menenius, precibus suis aut patrum, sed cum
multa fiducia innocentiæ gratiæque tribunicios im-
petus tulit. Et huic prœlium cum Tuscis ad Ianicu- 7
lum erat crimini. Sed fervidi animi vir ut in publico
periculo ante, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modo, sed
plebem oratione feroci refutando exprobrandoque T.
Menenii damnationem mortemque, cuius patris mu-
nere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos, quibus tum
sæviret, magistratus, eas leges haberet, periculum
audacia discussit. Iuvit et Verginius collega, testis 8
productus, participando laudes; magis tamen Mene-
nianum (adeo mutaverant animum) profuit iudicium.

Certamina domi finita; Veiens bellum exortum, 53
quibus Sabini arma coniunxerant. P.
Valerius consul, accitis Latinorum Her-
nicorumque auxiliis, cum exercitu Veios
missus castra Sabina, quæ pro mœnibus
sociorum locata erant, confestim aggredi-
tur; tantamque trepidationem iniecit, ut, dum dis-
persi alii alia manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam
hostium vim, ea porta, cui signa primum intulerat,
caperetur. Intra vallum deinde cædes magis quam 2
prœlium esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem pene-
trat; tanquam Veiis captis, ita pavidi Veientes ad
arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Ro-
manos toto impetu intentos in castra adoriuntur.
Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi 3
utroque versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule
immissus Tuscos fundit fugatque, eademque hora duo
exercitus, duæ potentissimæ et maximæ finitimæ gen-
tes superatæ sunt. Dum hæc ad Veios geruntur, 4

War against combined forces of Veientines and Sabines. Nautius is sent to assist Latius against Volscians, though no assistance was needed by Latius.

Volsci Æquique in Latino agro posuerant castra
populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini,
assumptis Hernicis, sine Romano aut duce aut auxilio
5 castris exuerunt; ingenti præda præter suas recupe-
ratas res potiti sunt. Missus tamen ab Roma consul
in Volscos C. Nautius; mos, credo, non placebat, sine
Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus con-
6 siliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus calamitatis con-
tumeliæque non editum in Volscos est, nec tamen
perpelli potuere, ut acie dimicarent.

Truce for 40 years with Veientines. Renewal of agrarian agitations. Murder of Genucius. Agrarian vehemence damped for awhile.

54 L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio
Veientes provincia evenit; non tamen
bellatum; indutiæ in annos quadraginta
petentibus datæ, frumento stipendioque
2 imperato. Paci externæ confestim con-
tinuatur discordia domi. Agrariæ legis
tribuniciis stimulis plebs furebat. Consules, nihil
Menenii damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii,
summa vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genu-
cius tribunus plebis arripuit.

3 L. Æmilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum in-
eunt; Vopiscum Iulium pro Verginio in quibusdam
annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno, quoscunque
consules habuit, rei ad populum Furius et Manlius
circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis quam iuniores
4 patrum. Suadent, monent, honoribus et administra-
tione rei publicæ abstineant; consulares vero fasces,
prætextam curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pom-
pam funeris putent; claris insignibus velut infulis
5 velatos ad mortem destinari. Quod si consulatus
tanta dulcedo sit, iam nunc ita in animum inducant,
consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potes-

tate esse; consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse; si se 6
commoverit, si respexerit patres, si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica crediderit, exsilium Cn. Marcii, Menenii damnationem et mortem sibi proponat ante oculos. His accensi vocibus patres concilia inde non 7
publica, sed in privato seductaque a plurium conscientia habere, ubi quum id modo constaret, iure an iniuria, eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quæque maxime placebat sententia, nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur iudicii die, quum plebs in 8
foro erecta exspectatione staret, mirari primo, quod non descenderet tribunus; dein, quum iam mora suspectior fieret, deterritum a primoribus credere, et desertam ac proditam causam publicam queri; tan- 9
dem, qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant, nuntiant, domi mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Præcipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacratæ leges haberent, morte collegæ monitos. Nec patres satis 10
moderate ferre lætitiam, adeoque neminem noxiæ pænitebat, ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent palamque ferretur, malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

Sub hanc pessimi exempli victoriam dilectus edici- 55
tur, paventibusque tribunis, sine intercessione ulla consules rem peragunt.

Publilius Volero defies the consuls. Riot.

Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam 2
consulum imperio, et dicere, actum esse de libertate sua; rursus ad antiqua reditum; cum Genucio una mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud

agendum ac cogitandum, quomodo resistatur patribus;
3 id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebs, quan-
do aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quattuor et
viginti lictores apparere consulibus, et eos ipsos plebis
homines; nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si sint,
qui contemnant; sibi quemque ea magna atque hor-
4 renda facere. His vocibus alii alios quum incitassent,
ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia,
quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere,
5 lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tri-
bunos. Quum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari
hominem et virgas expediri iubent. "Provoco" in-
quit "ad populum" Volero, "quoniam tribuni civem
Romanum in conspectu suo virgis cædi malunt quam
ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari. Quo ferocius
clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare
6 lictor. Tum Volero, et prævalens ipse et adiuvanti-
bus advocatis, repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro
se acerrimus erat clamor, eo se in turbam confertissi-
7 mam recipit, clamitans: "Provoco et fidem plebis
imploro. Adeste, cives; adeste, commilitones; nihil
est, quod exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro
8 auxilio opus est." Concitati homines veluti ad prœ-
lium se expediunt, apparebatque, omne discrimen
adesse; nihil cuiquam sanctum non publici fore, non
9 privati iuris. Huic tantæ tempestati quum se con-
sules obtulissent, facile experti sunt, parum tutam
maiestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus,
fascibus fractis, e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti,
10 quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam. Conticiscente
deinde tumultu, quum in senatum vocari iussissent,
queruntur iniurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis auda-

ciam. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis, vicere seni- 11
ores, quibus ira patrum adversus temeritatem plebis
certari non placuit.

Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis 56
tribunum plebi creat in eum annum, qui
L. Pinarium, P. Furium consules habuit.
Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum 2
vexandis prioris anni consulibus permis-
surum tribunatum credebant, post pub-
licam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem
violatis consulibus, rogationem tulit ad populum, ut
plebeii magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Haud 3
parva res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci
ferebatur, sed quæ patriciis omnem potestatem per
clientium suffragia creandi, quos vellent, tribunos
auferret. Huic actioni gratissimæ plebi quum summa 4
vi resisterent patres, nec, quæ una via ad resistendum
erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex collegio, auctoritate
aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen
suo ipsa molimine gravis certaminibus in annum
extrahitur. Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit; pa- 5
tres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam,
App. Claudium App. filium, iam inde a paternis cer-
taminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem fa-
ciunt. Collega ei T. Quinctius datur.

Publilius elected tribune. The *lex Publilia* "ut plebeii magistratus tributis comitiis fierent". Prolonged contests. Bill carried.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege 6
agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Lætorius,
collega eius, auctor quum recentior, tum acrior erat.
Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod ætatis eius 7
haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, quum Vo-
lero nihil præterquam de lege loqueretur, insectatione
abstinens consulum, ipse accusationem Appii famili-

æque superbissimæ ac crudelissimæ in plebem Roma-
8 nam exorsus, quum a patribus non consulem, sed
carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem crea-
tum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua
9 non suppetebat libertati animoque. Itaque deficiente
oratione, "Quando quidem non *tam* facile loquor"
inquit, "Quirites, quam, quod locutus sum, præsto,
crastino die adeste; ego hic aut in conspectu vestro
10 moriar aut perferam legem." Occupant tribuni tem-
plum postero die; consules nobilitasque ad impedien-
dam legem in contione consistunt. Summoveri Læ-
torius iubet, præterquam qui suffragium ineant.
11 Adolescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori.
Tum ex his prendi quosdam Lætorius iubet. Consul
Appius negare, ius esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in
12 plebeium; non enim populi, sed plebis eum magis-
tratum esse; nec illum ipsum summovere pro imperio
posse more maiorum, quia ita dicatur: "Si vobis
videtur, discedite, Quirites." Facile contemptim de
13 iure disserendo perturbare Lætorium poterat. Ardens
igitur ira tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem,
consul lictorem ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans,
14 sine imperio, sine magistratu; violatusque esset tri-
bunus, ni et contio omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in
consulem esset, et concursus [hominum] in forum ex
tota urbe concitatæ multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat
tamen Appius pertinacia tantam tempestatem, certa-
15 tumque haud incruento prœlio foret, ni Quinctius,
consul alter, consularibus negotio dato, ut collegam vi,
si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc
plebem sævientem precibus lenisset, nunc orasset
16 tribunos, ut concilium dimitterent: darent iræ spa-

tium; non vim suam illis tempus adempturum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et patres in populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate. Ægre sedata 57
ab Quinctio plebs, multo ægrius consul alter a patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis, senatum consules habent. Ubi quum timor atque ira in vicem 2
sententias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab impetu ad consultandum avocabantur, eo plus abhorrebant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quinctio gratias agerent, quod eius opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem maiestatem 3
esse vellet, quanta esse in concordi civitate posset; dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rem publicam; magis, quorum in manu sit, quam ut incolumis sit, quæri. Appius contra 4
testari deos atque homines, rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseri; non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse; graviores accipi leges, quam in Sacro monte acceptæ sint. Victus tamen patrum consensu quievit; lex silentio perfertur. Tum primum tributis 58
comitiis creati tribuni sunt. Numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, Cn. Siccium, L. Numi- 2
torium, M. Duillium, Sp. Icilium, L. Mecilium.

Volscum Æquicumque inter seditionem Romanam 3
est bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet: compositis deinde rebus, castra retro movere. App. Clau- 4
dius in Volscos missus, Quinctio Æqui provincia evenit. Eadem in militia sæ-

War with the Volsci and Æqui. Bad feeling between Appius Claudius and his troops, and misbehaviour of latter. Severe punishments inflicted. Different conduct of army under Quinctius.

vitia Appii, quæ domi, esse, liberior, quod sine
5 tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus quam
paterno odio: se victum ab ea; se unico consule
electo adversus tribuniciam potestatem, perlatam
legem esse, quam minore conatu, nequaquam tanta
6 patrum spe, priores impedierint consules. Hæc ira
indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum sævo
imperio exercitum stimulabat. Nec ulla vi domari
7 poterat; tantum certamen animis imbiberant. Seg-
niter, otiose, negligenter, contumaciter omnia agere;
nec pudor nec metus coercebat. Si citius agi vellet
agmen, tardius sedulo incedere; si adhortator operis
adesset, omnes sua-sponte-motam remittere indus-
8 triam; præsenti vultus demittere, tacite prætereun-
tem exsecrari, ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus
9 interdum moveretur. Omni nequicquam acerbitate
prompta, nihil iam cum militibus agere; a centurion-
ibus corruptum exercitum dicere; tribunos plebei
59 cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare. Nihil eorum
Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo magis, sperantes,
idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habitu-
rum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium
2 consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio quam
Fabio violentior fuit; non enim vincere tantum
noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Pro-
ductus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra, nec ante resti-
tit, quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit
3 fœdamque extremi agminis cædem. Tum expressa
vis ad pugnandum, ut victor iam a vallo summovere-
tur hostis, satis tamen appareret, capi tantum castra
militem Romanum noluisse, alia gaudere sua clade
4 atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii

animus quum insuper sævire vellet, contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique, monentes, ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cuius vis omnis in consensu obedientium esset; negare vulgo milites, se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri 5
voces postulantium, ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur; hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse, ingentisque mali non suspicionem modo, sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus 6
tandem, quando quidem nihil præter tempus noxæ lucrarentur, omissa contione iter in insequentem diem pronuntiari quum iussisset, prima luce classico signum profectionis dedit. Quum maxime agmen e castris 7
explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo excitati, novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit, ut neque imperia exaudiri neque instrui acies posset. Nemo ullius nisi fugæ memor. Ita effuso agmine per 8
stragem corporum armorumque evasere, ut prius hostis desisteret sequi quam Romanus fugere. Tandem 9
collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus, consul, quum revocando nequicquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; advocataque contione, invectus haud falso in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinæ, desertorem signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma 10
essent, singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque, qui reli- 11
querant ordines, virgis cæsos securi percussit; cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad supplicium lecti.

Contra ea in Æquis inter consulem ac milites 60
comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quinctius erat lenior, et sævitia infelix collegæ, quo is magis

2 gauderet ingenio suo, effecerat. Huic tantæ con-
cordiæ ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se Æqui,
vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi; nec
ullo ante bello latius inde actæ prædæ. Ea omnis
3 militi data est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus haud
minus quam præmio gaudent militum animi. Quum
duci, tum propter ducem patribus quoque placatior
exercitus redit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui domi-
num datum ab senatu memorans.

4 Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forisque
annum exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa
efficiunt, res maior victoria suscepti certaminis quam
5 usu. Plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum
est patribus ex concilio summovendis, quam virium
aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus.

Prosecution of Appius Claudius. His resolute bearing, and death.

61 Turbulentior inde annus excepit, L. Valerio, Ti.
Æmilio consulibus, quum propter certa-
2 mina ordinum de lege agraria, tum
propter iudicium App. Claudii, cui, acer-
rimo adversario legis causamque possessorum pub-
lici agri tanquam tertio consuli sustinenti, M.
3 Duillius et Cn. Siccius diem dixere. Nunquam ante
tam invisus plebi reus ad iudicium vocatus populi
est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum.
4 Patres quoque non temere pro ullo æque annisi sunt;
propugnatorem senatus maiestatisque vindicem suæ,
ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus,
modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, iratæ obiici
5 plebi. Unus e patribus ipse App. Claudius et tribu-
nos et plebem et suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat.
Illum non minæ plebis, non senatus preces perpellere
unquam potuere, non modo ut vestem mutaret aut

supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consueta
quidem asperitate orationis, quum ad populum agenda
causa esset, aliquid leniret atque summitteret. Idem 6
habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in
oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Ap-
pium non minus reum timeret, quam consulem timu-
erat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia 7
solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu, adeoque constantia
sua et tribunos obstupefecit et plebem, ut diem ipsi
sua voluntate prodicerent, trahi deinde rem sinerent.
Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit; ante tamen, 8
quam prodicta dies veniret, morbo moritur. Cuius 9
quum laudationem tribuni plebis impedire conarentur,
plebs fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti
viri noluit, et laudationem tam æquis auribus mortui
audivit, quam vivi accusationem audierat, et exsequias
frequens celebravit.

Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in **62**
Æquos profectus, quum hostem ad prœ-
lium elicere non posset, castra oppug-
nare est adortus. Prohibuit fœda tem-
pestas cum grandine ac tonitribus cælo
deiecta. Admirationem deinde auxit, 2
signo receptui dato, adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita,
ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare
iterum religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad populatio-
nem agri vertit. Alter consul, Æmilius, in Sabinis 3
bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis mœnibus se tenebat,
vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum 4
modo, sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habita-
batur, Sabini exciti quum prædatoribus occurrissent,
ancipiti prœlio digressi postero die rettulere castra in

Wars with Aequi, Sabines, and Volsci, overpowering Agrarian agitations just as they are being renewed.

5 tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum, cur pro victo
relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

63 Inter hæc bella manente discordia domi, consules
2 T. Numicius Priscus, A. Verginius facti. Non ultra
videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariæ legis, ulti-
maque vis parabatur, quum, Volscos adesse, fumo ex
incendiis villarum fugaque agrestium cognitum est.
Ea res maturam iam seditionem ac prope erumpentem
3 repressit. Consules, coacti extemplo ab senatu ad
bellum, educta ex urbe iuventute, tranquilliorem
4 ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem, nihil
aliud quam perfusis vano timore Romanis, citato
5 agmine abeunt: Numicius Antium adversus Volscos,
Verginius contra Æquos profectus. Ibi ex insidiis
prope magna accepta clade, virtus militum rem pro-
6 lapsam negligentia consulis restituit. Melius in
Volscis imperatum est; fusi primo prœlio hostes fuga-
que in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant, opulentissi-
mam acti. Quam consul oppugnare non ausus Cæno-
nem, aliud oppidum nequaquam tam opulentum, ab
7 Antiatibus cepit. Dum Æqui Volscique Romanos
exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis popu-
lantes incessere. Deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab
duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso
in fines, plus cladium, quam intulerant, acceperunt.

64 Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper
alias, sollicitæ pacis certamine patrum et plebis.
2 Irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit;
per patres clientesque patrum consules creati T.
Quinctius, Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori
[consules] habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde ex-
3 terno tranquilla. Sabini Crustuminos campos citato

agmine transgressi, quum cædes et incendia circum
Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina
mœnibusque pulsi ingentes tamen prædas hominum
pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto 4
exercitu insectus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci æquis
locis non potuit, populationem adeo effuse fecit, ut
nihil bello intactum relinqueret multiplicique capta
præda rediret.

Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta quum 5
ducis, tum militum opera. Primum æquo campo
signis collatis pugnatum, ingenti cæde utrinque,
plurimo sanguine; et Romani, quia paucitas damno 6
sentiendo propior erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri
mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clami-
tans, concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant
vincere, vicere. Consul metuens, ne nimis instando 7
renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Inter- 8
cessere pauci dies, velut tacitis indutiis utrinque
quiete sumpta, per quos ingens vis hominum ex om-
nibus Volscis Æquisque populis in castra venit, haud
dubitans, si senserint, Romanos nocte abituros. Ita- 9
que tertia fere vigilia ad castra oppugnanda veniunt.
Quinctius, sedato tumultu, quem terror subitus exci-
verat, quum manere in tentoriis quietum militem
iussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in stationem educit, 10
cornicines tubicinesque in equos impositos canere ante
vallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere.
Reliquum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia in castris 11
fuere, ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos
species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et
Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum,
qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante

sonitu sæviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium
65 tenuit. Ubi illuxit, Romanus integer satiatusque
somno productus in aciem fessum stando et vigiliis
2 Volscum primo impetu perculit; quanquam cessere
magis quam pulsi hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant
clivi, in quos post principia integris ordinibus tutus
receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum
est, sistit aciem. Miles ægre teneri, clamare et pos-
3 cere, ut perculsis instare liceat. Ferocius agunt
equites; circumfusi duci vociferantur, se ante signa
ituros. Dum cunctatur consul, virtute militum fre-
tus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros, clamor-
emque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo
4 leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus,
effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis, saxa
obiacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes, turbatosque
ictibus crebris urget ex superiore loco. Sic prope
oneratum est sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referenti-
bus iam gradum consul, increpando simul temeritatem,
5 simul ignaviam, pudore metum excussisset. Restitere
primo obstinatis animis; deinde, ut obtinentes locum
vires reficiebant, audent ultro gradum inferre et
clamore renovato commovent aciem; tum rursus
impetu capto enituntur atque exsuperant iniquitatem
6 loci. Iam prope erat, ut in summum clivi iugum
evaderent, quum terga hostes dedere, effusoque cursu
pæne agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris inci-
dere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur; qui Volscorum
7 effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Ro-
manus exercitus ductus. Paucos circumsessum dies
deditur, nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod iam inde
ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

LIBER III.

Renewal of Agrarian agitation. Colony of Antium founded.

Antio capto, Ti. Æmilius et Q. Fabius consules 1
fiunt. Hic erat Fabius, qui unus ex-
stinctæ ad Cremeram genti superfuerat.
Iam priore consulatu Æmilius dandi 2
agri plebi fuerat auctor; itaque secundo quoque con-
sulatu eius et agrarii se in spem legis erexerant,
et tribuni, rem contra consules sæpe tentatam adiu-
tore utique consule obtineri posse rati, suscipiunt;
et consul manebat in sententia sua. Possessores et 3
magna pars patrum, tribuniciis se iactare actionibus
principem civitatis et largiendo de alieno popularem
fieri querentes, totius invidiam rei a tribunis in con-
sulem averterant. Atrox certamen aderat, ni Fabius 4
consilio neutri parti acerbo rem expedisset: T. Quinc-
tii ductu et auspicio agri capti priore anno aliquantum
a Volscis esse; Antium, [propinquam] opportunam 5
et maritimam urbem, coloniam deduci posse; ita sine
querelis possessorum plebem in agros ituram, civi-
tatem in concordia fore. Hæc sententia accepta est.
Triumviros agro dando creat T. Quinctium, A. Ver- 6
ginium, P. Furium; iussi nomina dare, qui agrum
accipere vellent. Fecit statim, ut fit, fastidium copia, 7

adeoque pauci nomina dedere, ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur; cetera multitudo
8 poscere Romæ agrum malle quam alibi accipere. Æqui a Q. Fabio (is eo cum exercitu venerat) pacem petiere, irritamque eam ipsi subita incursione in agrum Latinum fecere.

War with Æqui.

2 Q. Servilius insequenti anno (is enim cum Sp. Postumio consul fuit) in Æquos missus in Latino agro stativa habuit [castra]. Quies necessaria morbo implicitum exercitum tenuit.
2 Extractum in tertium annum bellum est, Q. Fabio et T. Quinctio consulibus. Fabio extra ordinem, quia is victor pacem Æquis dederat, ea provincia data.
3 Qui haud dubia spe profectus, famam nominis sui pacaturam Æquos, legatos in concilium gentis missos nuntiare iussit, Q. Fabium consulem dicere, se ex Æquis pacem Romam tulisse, ab Roma Æquis bellum afferre eadem dextera armata, quam pacatam illis
4 antea dederat. Quorum id perfidia et periurio fiat, deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores. Se tamen, utcunque sit, etiam nunc, pænitere sua sponte Æquos
5 quam pati hostilia, malle. Si pæniteat, tutum receptum ad expertam clementiam fore; sin periurio gaudeant, dis magis iratis quam hostibus gesturos
6 bellum. Hæc dicta adeo nihil moverunt quemquam, ut legati prope violati sint exercitusque in Algidum
7 adversus Romanos missus. Quæ ubi Romam sunt nuntiata, indignitas rei magis quam periculum consulem alterum ab urbe excivit. Ita duo consulares exercitus ad hostem accessere acie instructa, ut con-
8 festim dimicarent. Sed quum forte haud multum diei superesset, unus ab statione hostium exclamat: "Os-

tentare hoc est, Romani, non gerere bellum. In 9
noctem imminentem aciem instruitis; longiore luce
ad id certamen, quod instat, nobis opus est. Crastino
die oriente sole redite in aciem; erit copia pugnandi;
ne timete." His vocibus irritatus miles in diem 10
posterum in castra reducitur, longam venire noctem
ratus, quæ moram certamini faceret. Tum quidem
corpora cibo somnoque curant; ubi illuxit postero die,
prior aliquanto constitit Romana acies; tandem et
Æqui processere. Prœlium fuit utrinque vehemens, 11
quod et Romanus ira odioque pugnabat, et Æquos
conscientia contracti culpa periculi et desperatio fu-
turæ sibi postea fidei ultima audere et experiri co-
gebat. Non tamen sustinuere aciem Romanam Æqui; 12
pulsique quum in fines suos se recepissent, nihilo in-
clinatioribus ad pacem animis ferox multitudo in-
crepare duces, quod in aciem, qua pugnandi arte
Romanus excellat, commissa res sit; Æquos popula- 13
tionibus incursionibusque meliores esse, et multas
passim manus quam magnam molem unius exercitus
rectius bella gerere. Relicto itaque castris præsidio, 3
egressi tanto cum tumultu invasere fines Romanos,
ut ad urbem quoque terrorem pertulerint. Necopi- 2
nata etiam res plus trepidationis fecit, quod nihil
minus, quam ne victus ac prope in castris obsessus
hostis memor populationis esset, timeri poterat;
agrestesque pavidi incidentes portis non populationem 3
nec prædonum parvas manus, sed, omnia vano au-
gentes timore, exercitus et legiones adesse hostium
et infesto agmine ruere ad urbem clamabant. Ab his 4
proximi audita incerta eoque vaniora ferre ad alios.
Cursus clamorque vocantium ad arma haud multum

a pavore captæ urbis abesse. Forte ab Algido Quinc-
5 tius consul redierat Romam. Id remedium timori fuit; tumultuque sedato, victos timeri increpans hos-
6 tes, præsidia portis imposuit. Vocato dein senatu, quum ex auctoritate patrum iustitio indicto profectus ad tutandos fines esset, Q. Servilio præfecto urbis
7 relicto, hostem in agris non invenit. Ab altero consule res gesta egregie est; qui, qua venturum hostem sciebat, gravem præda eoque impeditiore agmine ince-
8 dentem aggressus, funestam populationem fecit. Pauci hostium evasere ex insidiis; præda omnis recepta est. Sic finem iustitio, quod quatriduum fuit, reditus
9 Quinctii consulis in urbem fecit. Census deinde actus et conditum ab Quinctio lustrum. Censa civium capita centum quattuor millia septingenta quattuordecim dicuntur præter orbos or-
10 basque. In Æquis nihil deinde memorabile actum; in oppida sua se recepere, uri sua popularique passi. Consul quum aliquoties per omnem hostium agrum infesto agmine populabundus isset, cum ingenti laude prædaque Romam rediit.

Census.

4 Consules inde A. Postumius Albus, Sp. Furius Fusus. Furios Fusios scripsere quidam; id admoneo, ne quis immutationem virorum ipsorum esse, quæ
2 nominum est, putet. Haud dubium erat, quin cum Æquis alter consulum bellum gereret. Itaque Æqui ab Ecetranis Volscis præsidium petiere; quo cupide oblato (adeo civitates eæ perpetuo in Romanos
3 odio certavere), bellum summa vi parabatur. Sentiunt Hernici et prædicunt Romanis, Ecetranum ad

The Æqui seek assistance from the Volscians of Ecetræ. Suspicion of disloyalty on the part of Antium. Final victory of Romans, but after great losses on both sides. Prodigies and expiatory ceremonies.

Æquos descisse. Suspecta et colonia Antium fuit,
quod magna vis hominum inde, quum oppidum cap-
tum esset, confugisset ad Æquos; isque miles per
bellum Æquicum vel acerrimus fuit; compulsis deinde 4
in oppida Æquis, ea multitudo dilapsa quum Antium
redisset, sua sponte iam infidos colonos Romanis ab-
alienavit. Necdum matura re quum defectionem pa- 5
rari delatum ad senatum esset, datum negotium est
consulibus, ut, principibus coloniæ Romam excitis,
quærerent, quid rei esset. Qui quum haud gravate 6
venissent, introducti a consulibus ad senatum ita
responderunt ad interrogata, ut magis suspecti, quam
venerant, dimitterentur. Bellum inde haud dubium 7
haberi. Sp. Furius, consulum alter, cui ea provincia
evenerat, profectus in Æquos, Hernicorum in agro
populabundum hostem invenit, ignarusque multitu-
dinis, quia nusquam universa conspecta fuerat, im-
parem copiis exercitum temere pugnæ commisit. Pri- 8
mo concursu pulsus se intra castra recepit. Neque
is finis periculi fuit; namque et proxima nocte et
postero die tanta vi castra sunt circumsessa atque
oppugnata, ut ne nuntius quidem inde mitti Romam
posset. Hernici et male pugnatum et consulem exer- 9
citumque obsideri nuntiaverunt, tantumque terrorem
incussere patribus, ut, quæ forma senatus consulti
ultimæ semper necessitatis habita est, Postumio, alteri
consulum, negotium daretur, videret, ne quid res
publica detrimenti caperet. Ipsum consulem Romæ 10
manere ad conscribendos omnes, qui arma ferre pos-
sent, optimum visum est; pro consule T. Quinctium
subsidio castris cum sociali exercitu mitti; ad eum 11
explendum Latini Hernicique et colonia Antium dare

Quinctio subitarios milites (ita tum repentina auxilia
appellabant) iussi. Multi per eos dies motus multique
impetus hinc atque illinc facti, quia, superante mul-
titudine, hostes carpere multifariam vires Romanas, ut
2 non suffecturas ad omnia, aggressi sunt; simul castra
oppugnabantur, simul pars exercitus ad populandum
agrum Romanum missa urbemque ipsam, si qua for-
3 tuna daret, tentandam. L. Valerius ad præsidium
urbis relictus, consul Postumius ad arcendas popu-
4 lationes finium missus. Nihil remissum ab ulla parte
curæ aut laboris; vigiliæ in urbe, stationes ante
portas præsidiaque in muris disposita, et, quod ne-
cesse erat in tanto tumultu, iustitium per aliquot
5 dies servatum. Interim in castris Furius consul,
quum primo quietus obsidionem passus esset, in in-
cautum hostem decumana porta erupit, et quum per-
sequi posset, metu substitit, ne qua ex parte altera
6 in castra vis fieret. Furium legatum (frater idem
consulis erat) longius extulit cursus; nec suos ille
redeuntes persequendi studio neque hostium ab tergo
incursum vidit. Ita exclusus, multis sæpe frustra
conatibus captis, ut viam sibi ad castra faceret, acriter
7 dimicans cecidit. Et consul nuntio circumventi fratris
conversus ad pugnam, dum se temere magis quam
satis caute in mediam dimicationem infert, vulnere
accepto ægre ab circumstantibus ereptus et suorum
8 animos turbavit et ferociores hostes fecit; qui cæde
legati et consulis vulnere accensi nulla deinde vi
sustineri potuere, quin compulsi in castra Romani
rursus obsiderentur nec spe nec viribus pares. Ve-
nissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius
peregrinis copiis, Latino Hernicoque exercitu, sub-

venisset. Is intentos in castra Romana Æquos le- 9
gatique caput ferociter ostentantes ab tergo adortus,
simul ad signum a se procul editum ex castris erup-
tione facta, magnam vim hostium circumvenit. Minor 10
cædes, fuga effusior Æquorum in agro fuit Romano,
in quos palatos prædam agentes Postumius aliquot
locis, quibus opportuna imposuerat præsidia, impetum
dedit. Hi vagi dissipato agmine fugientes in Quinc-
tium victorem cum saucio consule revertentem in-
cidere; tum consularis exercitus egregia pugna con- 11
sulis vulnus, legati et cohortium ultus est cædem.
Magnæ clades ultro citroque illis diebus et illatæ et
acceptæ. Difficile ad fidem est in tam antiqua re, 12
quot pugnaverint ceciderintve, exacto affirmare nu-
mero; audet tamen Antias Valerius concipere sum-
mas: Romanos cecidisse in Hernico agro quinque 13
millia octingentos; ex prædatoribus Æquorum, qui
populabundi in finibus Romanis vagabantur, ab A.
Postumio consule duo millia et quadringentos cæsos;
ceteram multitudinem prædam agentem, quæ inciderit
in Quinctium, nequaquam pari defunctam esse cæde:
interfecta inde quattuor millia et, exsequendo sub-
tiliter numerum, ducentos ait et triginta.

Ut Romam reditum et iustitium remissum est, 14
cælum visum est ardere plurimo igni, portentaque
alia aut obversata oculis aut vanas exterritis os-
tentavere species. His avertendis terroribus in tri-
duum feriæ indictæ, per quas omnia delubra pacem
deum exposcentium virorum mulierumque turba im-
plebantur. Cohortes inde Latinæ Hernicæque ab 15
senatu, gratiis ob impigram militiam actis, remissæ
domos. Antiates mille milites, quia serum auxilium

post prœlium venerant, prope cum ignominia dimissi.

Pestilence at Rome. The Æqui and Volsci renew the war by invading the Hernican territory. The Hernici appealing to Rome are told that the Romans are too much weakened by the plague to aid them. Ravages of the plague at Rome.

6 Comitia inde habita; creati consules L. Æbutius, P. Servilius. Calendis Sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni agebatur, consu-
2 latum ineunt. Grave tempus et forte annus pestilens erat urbi agrisque, nec hominibus magis quam pecori, et auxere vim morbi terrore populationis pecoribus
3 agrestibusque in urbem acceptis. Ea colluvio mixtorum omnis generis animantium et odore insolito urbanos et agrestem confertum in arta tecta æstu ac vigiliis angebat, ministeriaque in vicem ac contagio ipsa vulgabant morbos.
4 Vix instantes sustinentibus clades repente legati Hernici nuntiant, in agro suo Æquos Volscosque coniunctis copiis castra posuisse, inde exercitu ingenti
5 fines suos depopulari. Præterquam quod infrequens senatus indicio erat sociis, afflictam civitatem pestilentia esse, mæstum etiam responsum tulere, ut per se ipsi Hernici cum Latinis res suas tutarentur; urbem Romanam subita deum ira morbo populari; si qua eius mali quies veniat, ut anno ante, ut semper
6 alias, sociis opem laturos. Discessere socii, pro tristi nuntio tristiorem domum referentes, quippe quibus per se sustinendum bellum erat, quod vix Romanis
7 fulti viribus sustinuissent. Non diutius se in Hernico hostis continuit; pergit inde infestus in agros Romanos, etiam sine belli iniuria vastatos. Ubi quum obvius nemo ne inermis quidem fieret, perque omnia non præsidiis modo deserta, sed etiam cultu agresti transirent, pervenere ad tertium lapidem Gabina via.

Mortuus Æbutius erat Romanus consul; collega eius 8
Servilius exigua in spe trahebat animam; affecti
plerique principum, patrum maior pars, militaris fere
ætas omnis, ut non modo ad expeditiones, quas in
tanto tumultu res poscebat, sed vix ad quietas sta-
tiones viribus sufficerent. Munus vigiliarum sena- 9
tores, qui per ætatem ac valetudinem poterant, per
se ipsi obibant; circumitio ac cura ædilium plebi erat;
ad eos summa rerum ac maiestas consularis imperii
venerat. Deserta omnia, sine capite, sine viribus, **7**
dii præsides ac fortuna urbis tutata est, quæ Volscis
Æquisque prædonum potius mentem quam hostium
dedit. Adeo enim nullam spem non potiundi modo, 2
sed ne adeundi quidem Romana mœnia animus eorum
cepit, tectaque procul visa atque imminentes tumuli
avertere mentes eorum, ut, totis passim castris fremitu
orto, quid in vasto ac deserto agro inter tabem pe- 3
corum hominumque desides sine præda tempus tere-
rent, quum integra loca, Tusculanum agrum opimum
copiis, petere possent, signa repente convellerent
transversisque itineribus per Lavicanos agros in Tus-
culanos colles transirent. Eo vis omnis tempestasque
belli conversa est. Interim Hernici Latinique pudore 4
etiam, non misericordia solum moti, si nec obsti-
tissent communibus hostibus infesto agmine Romanam
urbem petentibus nec opem ullam obsessis sociis
ferrent, coniuncto exercitu Romam pergunt. Ubi 5
quum hostes non invenissent, secuti famam ac ves-
tigia obvii fiunt descendentibus ab Tusculana in
Albanam vallem. Ibi haudquaquam æquo prœlio
pugnatum est, fidesque sua sociis parum felix in præ-
sentia fuit. Haud minor Romæ fit morbo strages, 6

quam quanta ferro sociorum facta erat. Consul, qui
unus supererat, moritur; mortui et alii clari viri,
M. Valerius, T. Verginius Rutilus augures, Ser. Sul-
7 picius curio maximus, et per ignota capita late vagata
est vis morbi. Inopsque senatus auxilii humani ad
deos populum ac vota vertit; iussi cum coniugibus ac
liberis supplicatum ire pacemque exposcere deum.
8 Ad id, quod sua quemque mala cogebant, auctoritate
publica evocati omnia delubra implent. Stratæ passim
matres, crinibus templa verrentes, veniam irarum cæ-
lestium finemque pesti exposcunt.

Return of health. Signal successes against the enemy, especially under Lucretius, who 'almost destroys the Volscian name.'

8 Inde paulatim, seu pace deum impetrata seu gra-
viore tempore anni iam circumacto, de-
functa morbis corpora salubriora esse
2 incipere, versisque animis iam ad pub-
licam curam, quum aliquot interregna
exissent, P. Valerius Publicola tertio
die, quam interregnum inierat, consules creat L.
Lucretium Tricipitinum et T. Veturium Geminum,
3 sive ille Vetusius fuit. Ante diem tertium idus
Sextiles consulatum ineunt, iam satis valida civitate,
ut non solum arcere bellum, sed ultro etiam inferre
4 posset. Igitur nuntiantibus Hernicis, in fines suos
transcendisse hostes, impigre promissum auxilium.
Duo consulares exercitus scripti. Veturius missus
5 in Volscos ad bellum ultro inferendum; Tricipitinus
populationibus arcendis sociorum agro oppositus non
6 ultra quam in Hernicos procedit. Veturius primo
prœlio hostes fundit fugatque; Lucretium, dum in
Hernicis sedet, prædonum agmen fefellit supra montes
Prænestinos ductum, inde demissum in campos. Vas-
tavere agros Prænestinum Gabinumque; ex Gabino

in Tusculanos flexere colles. Urbi quoque Romæ 7
ingens præbitus terror, magis re subita quam quod
ad arcendam vim parum virium esset. Q. Fabius
præerat urbi; is armata iuventute dispositisque præ-
sidiis tuta omnia ac tranquilla fecit. Itaque hostes, 8
præda ex proximis locis rapta, appropinquare urbi
non ausi, quum circumacto agmine redirent, quanto
longius ab urbe hostium abscederent, eo solutiore
cura, in Lucretium incidunt consulem, iam ante ex-
ploratis itineribus suis, instructum et ad certamen
intentum. Igitur præparatis animis repentino pavore 9
perculsos adorti aliquanto pauciores multitudinem in-
gentem fundunt fugantque et compulsos in cavas
valles, quum exitus haud in facili essent, circum-
veniunt. Ibi Volscum nomen prope deletum est. 10
Tredecim millia quadringentos septuaginta cecidisse
in acie ac fuga, mille septingentos quinquaginta vivos
captos, signa viginti septem militaria relata, in quibus-
dam annalibus invenio, ubi etsi adiectum aliquid nu-
mero sit, magna certe cædes fuit. Victor consul, 11
ingenti præda potitus, eodem in stativa rediit. Tum
consules castra coniungunt, et Volsci Æquique afflic-
tas vires suas in unum contulere. Tertia illa pugna
eo anno fuit. Eadem fortuna victoriam dedit; fusis
hostibus etiam castra capta.

Sic res Romana in antiquum statum rediit, 9
secundæque belli res extemplo urba-
nos motus excitaverunt. C. Teren- 2
tilius Harsa tribunus plebis eo anno
fuit. Is consulibus absentibus ratus
locum tribuniciis actionibus datum, per
aliquot dies patrum superbiam ad ple-

Renewal of agitation in the city. C. Terentilius Harsa. His lex 'ut quinque viri creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis.' Shelved for the present by intervention of the other tribunes.

bem criminatus, maxime in consulare imperium tanquam nimium nec tolerabile liberæ civitati invehebatur.
3 Nomine enim tantum minus invidiosum, re
4 ipsa prope atrocius quam regium esse; quippe duos pro uno domino acceptos, immoderata, infinita potestate, qui, soluti atque effrenati ipsi, omnes metus
5 legum omniaque supplicia verterent in plebem. Quæ ne æterna illis licentia sit, legem se promulgaturum, ut quinque viri creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis; quod populus in se ius dederit, eo consulem usurum, non ipsos libidinem ac licentiam suam pro
6 lege habituros. Qua promulgata lege, quum timerent patres, ne absentibus consulibus iugum acciperent, senatus a præfecto urbis Q. Fabio vocatur, qui adeo atrociter in rogationem latoremque ipsum est invectus, ut nihil, si ambo consules infesti circumstarent tri-
7 bunum, relictum minarum atque terroris sit. Insidiatum eum et tempore capto adortum rem publicam. Si quem similem eius priore anno inter morbum bellumque irati dii tribunum dedissent, non potuisse
8 sisti. Mortuis duobus consulibus, iacente ægra civitate, in colluvione omnium rerum, ad tollendum e re publica consulare imperium laturum leges fuisse, ducem Volscis Æquisque ad oppugnandam urbem
9 futurum. Quid tandem? Illi non licere, si quid consules superbe in aliquem civium aut crudeliter fecerint, diem dicere, accusare iis ipsis iudicibus,
10 quorum in aliquem sævitum sit? Non illum consulare imperium, sed tribuniciam potestatem invisam intolerandamque facere; quam placatam reconciliatamque patribus de integro in antiqua redigi mala. Neque illum se deprecari, quo minus pergat, ut

cœperit. "Vos" inquit Fabius, "ceteri tribuni, oramus, ut primum omnium cogitetis, potestatem istam ad singulorum auxilium, non ad perniciem universorum comparatam esse; tribunos plebis vos creatos, non hostes patribus. Nobis miserum, invidiosum vobis est, desertam rem publicam invadi. Non ius vestrum, sed invidiam minueritis. Agite cum collega, ut rem integram in adventum consulum differat. Ne Æqui quidem ac Volsci, morbo absumptis priore anno consulibus, crudeli superboque nobis bello institere." Agunt cum Terentilio tribuni, dilataque in speciem actione, re ipsa sublata, consules extemplo arcessiti. 11 12 13

Return and triumph of Lucretius.

Lucretius cum ingenti præda, maiore multo gloria rediit. Et auget gloriam adveniens exposita omni in campo Martio præda, ut suum quisque per triduum cognitum abduceret. Reliqua vendita, quibus domini non exstitere. Debebatur omnium consensu consuli triumphus; sed dilata res est, tribuno de lege agente; id antiquius consuli fuit. Iactata per aliquot dies quum in senatu res, tum apud populum est; cessit ad ultimum maiestati consulis tribunus et destitit. Tum imperatori exercituique honos suus redditus. Triumphavit de Volscis Æquisque; triumphantem secutæ suæ legiones. Alteri consuli datum, ut ovans sine militibus urbem iniret. 10 2 3 4

Renewed proposal of lex Terentilia. Prodigies. The Romans warned 'ut seditionibus abstineretur.'

Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilia ab toto relata collegio novos aggressa consules est; erant consules P. Volumnius, Ser. Sulpicius. Eo anno cælum ardere visum, terra ingenti concussa motu est. 5 6

Bovem locutam, cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum. Inter alia prodigia et carne pluit, quem imbrem ingens numerus avium intervolitando rapuisse fertur; quod intercidit, sparsum ita iacuisse per ali-
7 quot dies, ut nihil odor mutaret. Libri per duumviros sacrorum aditi; pericula a conventu alienigenarum prædicta, ne qui in loca summa urbis impetus cædesque inde fierent; inter cetera monitum, ut seditionibus abstineretur. Id factum ad impediendam legem tri-
8 buni criminabantur, ingensque aderat certamen. Ecce, ut idem in singulos annos orbis volveretur, Hernici nuntiant, Volscos et Æquos, etsi accisæ res sint, reficere exercitus; Antii summam rei positam; Ecetræ Antiates colonos palam concilia facere; id caput, eas vires belli esse.

News of renewal of war by Volsci.—Treated by the tribunes as a fable of the patricians to gain time. The tribunes oppose the levy, the patricians oppose the bringing forward of the law. *Rixæ.*

9 Ut hæc dicta in senatu sunt, dilectus edicitur; consules belli administrationem inter se dispertiri iussi, alteri ut Volsci, alteri ut Æqui
10 provincia esset. Tribuni coram in foro personare, fabulam compositam Volsci belli, Hernicos ad partes paratos. Iam ne virtute quidem premi libertatem
11 populi Romani, sed arte eludi. Quia occidione prope occisos Volscos et Æquos movere sua sponte arma posse iam fides abierit, novos hostes quæri; coloniam
12 fidam, propinquam infamem fieri. Bellum innoxiis Antiatibus indici, geri cum plebe Romana, quam oneratam armis ex urbe præcipiti agmine acturi essent,
13 exsilio et relegatione civium ulciscentes tribunos. Sic, ne quid aliud actum putent, victam legem esse, nisi, dum in integro res sit, dum domi, dum togati sint, caveant, ne possessione urbis pellantur, ne iugum

accipiant. Si animus sit, non defore auxilium; con- 14
sentire omnes tribunos. Nullum terrorem externum,
nullum periculum esse; cavisse deos priore anno, ut
tuto libertas defendi posset. Hæc tribuni. At ex **11**
parte altera consules in conspectu eorum positis sellis
dilectum habebant. Eo decurrunt tribuni contionem-
que secum trahunt. Citati pauci velut rei experiundæ
causa, et statim vis coorta. Quemcunque lictor iussu 2
consulis prendisset, tribunus mitti iubebat; neque
suum cuique ius modum faciebat, sed virium spes, et
manu obtinendum erat, quod intenderes.

Quemadmodum se tribuni gessissent in prohibendo 3
dilectu, sic patres in lege, quæ per omnes comitiales
dies ferebatur, impedienda gerebant. Initium erat 4
rixæ, quum discedere populum iussissent tribuni,
quod patres se summoveri haud sinebant. Nec fere
seniores rei intererant, quippe quæ non consilio re-
genda, sed permissa temeritati audaciæque esset.
Multum et consules se abstinebant, ne cui in collu- 5
vione rerum maiestatem suam contumeliæ offerrent.
Cæso erat Quinctius, ferox iuvenis qua nobilitate 6
gentis, qua corporis magnitudine et vi-
ribus. Ad ea munera data a diis et
ipse addiderat multa belli decora facun-
diamque in foro, ut nemo non lingua, non manu
promptior in civitate haberetur. Hic quum in medio 7
patrum agmine constitisset, eminens inter alios, velut
omnes dictaturas consulatusque gerens in voce ac
viribus suis, unus impetus tribunicios popularesque
procellas sustinebat. Hoc duce sæpe pulsi foro tribuni, 8
fusa ac fugata plebes est; qui obvius fuerat, mulcatus
nudatusque abibat, ut satis appareret, si sic agi

The trial of Kæso Quinctius.

9 liceret, victam legem esse. Tum, prope iam perculsis
aliis tribunis, A. Verginius, ex collegio unus, Cæsoni
capitis diem dicit. Atrox ingenium accenderat eo
facto magis quam conterruerat; eo acrius obstare
legi, agitare plebem, tribunos velut iusto persequi
10 bello. Accusator pati reum ruere invidiæque flammam
ac materiam criminibus suis suggerere; legem interim
non tam ad spem perferendi quam ad lacessendam
11 Cæsonis temeritatem ferre. Ibi multa sæpe ab iuven-
tute inconsulte dicta factaque in unius Cæsonis sus-
pectum incidunt ingenium. Tamen legi resistebatur.
12 Et A. Verginius identidem plebi: "Ecquid sentitis
iam, vos, Quirites, Cæsonem simul civem et legem,
13 quam cupitis, habere non posse? Quanquam quid ego
legem loquor? Libertati obstat; omnes Tarquinios
superbia exsuperat. Expectate, dum consul aut dic-
tator fiat, quem privatum viribus et audacia reg-
nantem videtis." Assentiebantur multi, pulsatos se
querentes, et tribunum ad rem peragendam ultro
incitabant.

12 Iam aderat iudicio dies apparebatque, vulgo
homines in damnatione Cæsonis libertatem agi cre-
dere. Tum demum coactus cum multa indignitate
prensabat singulos. Sequebantur necessarii, prin-
2 cipes civitatis. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter
consul fuerat, quum multa referret sua familiæque
3 decora, affirmabat, neque in Quinctia gente neque in
civitate Romana tantam indolem tam maturæ virtutis
unquam exstitisse; suum primum militem fuisse, se
4 sæpe vidente pugnasse in hostem. Sp. Furius, mis-
sum ab Quinctio Capitolino sibi eum in dubiis suis
rebus venisse subsidio; neminem unum esse, cuius

magis opera putet rem restitutam. L. Lucretius, 5
consul anni prioris, recenti gloria nitens, suas laudes
participare cum Cæsone, memorare pugnas, referre
egregia facinora nunc in expeditionibus, nunc in acie;
suadere et monere, iuvenem egregium, instructum 6
naturæ fortunæque omnibus bonis, maximum momen-
tum rerum eius civitatis, in quamcunque venisset, suum
quam alienum mallent civem esse. Quod offendat in 7
eo, fervorem et audaciam, ætatem quotidie auferre;
quod desideretur, consilium, id in dies crescere.
Senescentibus vitiis, maturescente virtute, sinerent
tantum virum senem in civitate fieri. Pater inter 8
hos L. Quinctius, cui Cincinnato cognomen erat, non
iterando laudes, ne cumularet invidiam, sed veniam
errori atque adolescentiæ petendo, sibi, qui non dicto,
non facto quemquam offendisset, ut condonarent filium,
orabat. Sed alii aversabantur preces aut verecundia 9
aut metu alii, se suosque mulcatos querentes, atroci
responso iudicium suum præferebant. Premebat reum **13**
præter vulgatam invidiam crimen unum, quod M.
Volscius Fictor, qui ante aliquot annos tribunus plebis
fuerat, testis exstiterat, se haud multo post, quam 2
pestilentia in urbe fuerat, in iuventutem grassantem in
Subura incidisse. Ibi rixam natam esse fratremque
suum maiorem natu, necdum ex morbo satis validum,
pugno ictum ab Cæsone cecidisse; semianimem inter 3
manus domum ablatum, mortuumque inde arbitrari,
nec sibi rem exsequi tam atrocem per consules
superiorum annorum licuisse. Hæc Volscio clami-
tante adeo concitati homines sunt, ut haud multum
afuerit, quin impetu populi Cæso interiret. Verginius 4
arripi iubet hominem et in vincula duci. Patricii vi

contra vim resistunt. T. Quinctius clamitat, cui rei
capitalis dies dicta sit et de quo futurum propediem
iudicium, eum indemnatum indicta causa non debere
5 violari. Tribunus supplicium negat sumpturum se
de indemnato; servaturum tamen in vinculis esse ad
iudicii diem, ut, qui hominem necaverit, de eo sup-
6 plicii sumendi copia populo Romano fiat. Appellati
tribuni medio decreto ius auxilii sui expediunt: in
vincula coniici vetant; sisti reum pecuniamque, ni
7 sistatur, populo promitti, placere pronuntiant. Sum-
mam pecuniæ quantam æquum esset promitti, veniebat
in dubium; id ad senatum reiicitur; reus, dum con-
8 sulerentur patres, retentus in publico est. Vades dari
placuit; unum vadem tribus millibus æris obliga-
verunt; quot darentur, permissum tribunis est. De-
cem finierunt; tot vadibus accusator vadatus est reum.
Hic primus vades publico dedit. Dimissus e foro
9 nocte proxima in Tuscos in exsilium abiit. Iudicii
die quum excusaretur solum vertisse exsilii causa,
nihilo minus Verginio comitia habente, collegæ appel-
10 lati dimisere concilium. Pecunia a patre exacta
crudeliter, ut, divenditis omnibus bonis, aliquamdiu
trans Tiberim veluti relegatus devio quodam tugurio
viveret.

14 Hoc iudicium et promulgata lex exercuit civitatem;
2 ab externis armis otium fuit. Quum
velut victores tribuni, perculsis patribus
Cæsonis exsilio, prope perlatam esse
crederent legem, et, quod ad seniores
patrum pertineret, cessissent possessione
3 rei publicæ, iuniores, id maxime, quod Cæsonis soda-
lium fuit, auxere iras in plebem, non minuerunt

Organised resistance to the Tribunes by younger patricians, who adopt a popular behaviour on all occasions 'nisi cum de lege agi cœptum esset.'

animos; sed ibi plurimum profectum est, quod modo quodam temperavere impetus suos. Quum primo 4
post Cæsonis exsilium lex cœpta ferri est, instructi paratique cum ingenti clientium exercitu sic tribunos, ubi primum summoventes præbuere causam, adorti sunt, ut nemo unus inde præcipuum quicquam gloriæ domum invidiæve ferret, mille pro uno Cæsones exstitisse plebes quereretur. Mediis diebus, quibus tribuni 5
de lege non agerent, nihil eisdem illis placidius aut quietius erat. Benigne salutare, alloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro, tribunos ipsos cetera pati sine interpellatione concilia habere, nunquam ulli neque publice neque privatim truces esse, nisi quum de lege agi cœptum esset; alibi popularis iuventus erat. Nec cetera modo tribuni tranquillo peregere, 6
sed refecti quoque in insequentem annum. Ne voce quidem incommodi, nedum ut ulla vis fieret, paulatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerant plebem. His per totum annum artibus lex elusa est.

Accipiunt civitatem placidiorem consules C. Clau- 15
dius Appii filius et P. Valerius Publicola. Nihil novi novus annus attulerat; legis ferendæ aut accipiendæ cura civitatem tenebat. Quantum iuniores patrum 2
plebi se magis insinuabant, eo acrius contra tribuni tendebant, ut plebi suspectos eos criminando facerent: coniurationem factam; Cæsonem Romæ esse; inter- 3
ficiendorum tribunorum, trucidandæ plebis consilia inita; id negotii datum ab senioribus patrum, ut iuventus tribuniciam potestatem e re publica tolleret, formaque eadem civitatis esset, quæ ante Sacrum montem occupatum fuerat. Et ab 4
Volscis et Æquis statum iam ac prope

Appius Herdonius.

sollemne in singulos annos bellum timebatur, propius-
5 que aliud novum malum necopinato exortum. Ex-
sules servique, ad duo millia hominum et quingenti,
duce Appio Herdonio Sabino nocte Capitolium atque
6 arcem occupavere. Confestim in arce facta cædes
eorum: qui coniurare et simul capere arma noluerant;
alii inter tumultum præcipites pavore in forum de-
volant; alternæ voces "Ad arma" et "Hostes in urbe
7 sunt" audiebantur. Consules et armare plebem et
inermem pati timebant. Incerti, quod malum repen-
tinum, externum an intestinum, ab odio plebis an ab
servili fraude, urbem invasisset, sedabant tumultus,
sedando interdum movebant; nec enim poterat pavida
8 et consternata multitudo regi imperio. Dant tamen
arma, non vulgo, tantum ut, incerto hoste, præsidium
satis fidum ad omnia esset. Solliciti reliquum noctis
incertique, qui homines, quantus numerus hostium
esset, in stationibus disponendis ad opportuna omnis
9 urbis loca egere. Lux deinde aperuit bellum ducem-
que belli. Servos ad libertatem Appius Herdonius
ex Capitolio vocabat: se miserrimi cuiusque suscepisse
causam, ut exsules iniuria pulsos in patriam reduceret
et servitiis grave iugum demeret; id malle populo
Romano auctore fieri; si ibi spes non sit, se Volscos
et Æquos et omnia extrema tentaturum et concita-
16 turum. Dilucere res magis patribus
atque consulibus. Præter ea tamen,
quæ denuntiabantur, ne Veientium neu
2 Sabinorum id consilium esset, timere,
et, quum tantum in urbe hostium esset,
mox Sabinæ Etruscæque legiones ex
composito adessent, tum æterni hostes, Volsci et Æqui,

The patricians fear a general attack from the enemies of Rome all round; the tribunes treat the occupation of the Capitol as a trick of the patricians, and induce the men to desert their posts.

non ad populandos, ut ante, fines, sed ad urbem ut ex
parte captam venirent. Multi et varii timores; inter 3
ceteros eminebat terror servilis, ne suus cuique domi
hostis esset, cui nec credere nec non credendo, ne
infestior fieret, fidem abrogare satis erat tutum; vix-
que concordia sisti videbatur posse. Tantum super- 4
antibus aliis ac mergentibus malis, nemo tribunos aut
plebem timebat; mansuetum id malum et per aliorum
quietem malorum semper exoriens tum quiesse, pere-
grino terrore sopitum, videbatur. At id prope unum 5
maxime inclinatis rebus incubuit. Tantus enim tri-
bunos furor tenuit, ut non bellum, sed vanam imaginem
belli ad avertendos ab legis cura plebis animos Capito-
lium insedisse contenderent; patriciorum hospites
clientesque si, perlata lege, frustra tumultuatos esse se
sentiant, maiore, quam venerint, silentio abituros.
Concilium inde legi perferendæ habere, avocato populo 6
ab armis. Senatum interim consules habent, alio se
maiore ab tribunis metu ostendente, quam quem noc-
turnus hostis intulerat. Postquam arma 17
poni et discedere homines ab stationibus

Speech of Publius Valerius,

nuntiatum est, P. Valerius, collega senatum retinente,
se ex curia proripit, inde in templum ad tribunos
venit. "Quid hoc rei est" inquit, "tribuni? Appii 2
Herdonii ductu et auspicio rem publicam eversuri
estis? Tam felix vobis corrumpendis fuit, qui ser-
vitia non commovit auctor? Quum hostes supra
caput sint, discedi ab armis legesque ferri placet?"
Inde ad multitudinem oratione versa: "Si vos urbis, 3
Quirites, si vestri nulla cura tangit, at vos veremini
deos vestros ab hostibus captos. Iuppiter optimus
maximus Iunoque regina et Minerva, alii dii deæque

obsidentur; castra servorum publicos vestros penates
4 tenent; hæc vobis forma sanæ civitatis videtur? Tan-
tum hostium non solum intra muros est, sed in arce
supra forum curiamque; comitia interim in foro sunt,
senatus in curia est; velut quum otium superat,
senator sententiam dicit, alii Quirites suffragium in-
5 eunt. Non, quicquid patrum plebisque est, consules,
tribunos, deos hominesque omnes armatos opem ferre,
in Capitolium currere, liberare ac pacare augustissi-
6 mam illam domum Iovis optimi maximi decuit? Ro-
mule pater, tu mentem tuam, qua quondam arcem ab
his iisdem Sabinis auro captam recepisti, da stirpi tuæ;
iube hanc ingredi viam, quam tu dux, quam tuus
ingressus exercitus est. Primus en ego consul, quan-
tum mortalis deum possum, te ac tua vestigia sequar."

7 who threatens to treat as an enemy any one who interferes with the arming of the citizens.

Ultimum orationis fuit, se arma capere,
vocare omnes Quirites ad arma; si qui im-
pediat, iam se consularis imperii, iam tri-
buniciæ potestatis sacratarumque legum oblitum, quis-
quis ille sit, ubicumque sit, in Capitolio, in foro, pro hoste
8 habiturum. Iuberent tribuni, quoniam in Appium
Herdonium vetarent, in P. Valerium consulem sumi
arma; ausurum se in tribunis, quod princeps familiæ
9 suæ ausus in regibus esset. Vim ultimam apparebat
futuram spectaculoque seditionem Romanam hostibus
fore. Nec lex tamen ferri nec ire in Capitolium
consul potuit; nox certamina cœpta oppressit; tribuni
10 cessere nocti, timentes consulum arma. Amotis inde
seditionis auctoribus, patres circumire plebem inseren-
tesque se in circulos sermones tempori aptos serere;
admonere, ut viderent, in quod discrimen rem pub-
11 licam adducerent. Non inter patres ac plebem cer-

tamen esse, sed simul patres plebemque, arcem urbis,
templa deorum, penates publicos privatosque hostibus
dedi. Dum hæc in foro sedandæ dis- 12
cordiæ causa aguntur, consules interim,
ne Sabini neve Veiens hostis moveretur, circa portas
murosque discesserant.

The people are quieted and military preparations made.

Eadem nocte Tusculum de arce capta Capitolioque 18
occupato et alio turbatæ urbis statu nun-
tii veniunt. L. Mamilius Tusculi tum 2
dictator erat. Is, confestim convocato
senatu atque introductis nuntiis, magno 3
opere censet, ne exspectent, dum ab Roma
legati auxilium petentes veniant; periculum ipsum dis-
crimenque ac sociales deos fidemque fœderum id poscere;
demerendi beneficio tam potentem, tam propinquam
civitatem nunquam parem occasionem daturos deos.
Placet ferri auxilium; iuventus conscribitur, arma 4
dantur. Romam prima luce venientes procul speciem
hostium præbuere; Æqui aut Volsci venire visi sunt;
deinde, ubi vanus terror abiit, accepti in urbem agmine
in forum descendunt. Ibi iam P. Valerius, re- 5
licto ad portarum præsidia collega, instruebat aciem.
Auctoritas viri moverat, affirmantis, Capitolio re- 6
cuperato et urbe pacata, si edoceri se sissent, quæ
fraus ab tribunis occulta in lege ferretur, memo-
rem se maiorum suorum, memorem cognominis,
quo populi colendi velut hereditaria cura sibi a
maioribus tradita esset, concilium plebis non im-
pediturum. Hunc ducem secuti, nequicquam re- 7
clamantibus tribunis, in clivum Capitolinum erigunt
aciem. Adiungitur et Tusculana legio. Certare socii
civesque, utri recuperatæ arcis suum decus facerent;

Arrival of a contingent from Tusculum, where news of the Roman danger has been received. Recapture of the Capitol. Valerius killed in the assault.

8 dux uterque suos adhortatur. Trepidare tum hostes
nec ulli satis rei præterquam loco fidere; trepidantibus
inferunt signa Romani sociique. Iam in vestibulum
perruperant templi, quum P. Valerius inter primores
9 pugnam ciens interficitur. P. Volumnius consularis
vidit cadentem. Is, dato negotio suis, ut corpus
obtegerent, ipse in locum vicemque consulis provolat.
Præ ardore impetuque tantæ rei sensus non pervenit
ad militem; prius vicit, quam se pugnare sine duce
10 sentiret. Multi exsulum cæde sua fœdavere tem-
plum; multi vivi capti; Herdonius interfectus. Ita
Capitolium recuperatum. De captivis, ut quisque
liber aut servus esset, suæ fortunæ a quoque sumptum
supplicium est. Tusculanis gratiæ actæ, Capitolium
11 purgatum atque lustratum. In consulis domum plebes
quadrantes, ut funere ampliore efferretur, iactasse fertur.

The tribunes demand the fulfilment of the promise of Valerius (18. 6) about the Terentilian law. Demand resisted until a consul is elected to fill the place of Valerius. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, father of Kæso, elected. Consternation of the Plebs, increased by a speech from the consul, who announces his intention of levying an army to make war on the Volscians.

19 Pace parta, instare tum tribuni patribus, ut
P. Valerii fidem exsolverent, instare
Claudio, ut collegæ deos manes fraude
liberaret, agi de lege sineret. Consul,
antequam collegam sibi subrogasset, ne-
2 gare passurum agi de lege. Hæ tenuere
contentiones usque ad comitia consulis
subrogandi. Decembri mense summo
patrum studio L. Quinctius Cincinnatus,
pater Cæsonis, consul creatur, qui magis-
3 tratum statim occiperet. Perculsa erat
plebes consulem habitura iratum, potentem favore
patrum, virtute sua, tribus liberis, quorum nemo
Cæsoni cedebat magnitudine animi, consilium et
4 modum adhibendo, ubi res posceret, priores erant. Is
ut magistratum iniit, assiduis contionibus pro tri-

bunali non in plebe coercenda quam senatu castigando
vehementior fuit, cuius ordinis languore perpetui iam
tribuni plebis, non ut in re publica populi Romani,
sed ut in perdita domo lingua criminibusque reg-
narent: cum Cæsone filio suo virtutem, constantiam, 5
omnia iuventutis belli domique decora pulsa ex urbe
Romana et fugata esse; loquaces, seditiosos, semina
discordiarum, iterum ac tertium tribunos pessimis
artibus, regia licentia vivere. "Aulus" inquit "ille 6
Verginius, quia in Capitolio non fuit, minus supplicii
quam Appius Herdonius meruit? Plus hercule ali-
quanto, qui vere rem æstimare velit. Herdonius, si
nihil aliud, hostem se fatendo prope denuntiavit, ut
arma caperetis; hic negando bellum esse arma vobis
ademit nudosque servis vestris et exsulibus obiecit.
Et vos (C. Claudii pace et P. Valerii mortui loquar) 7
prius in clivum Capitolinum signa intulistis, quam
hos hostes de foro tolleretis? Pudet deorum homi-
numque. Quum hostes in arce, in Capitolio essent,
exsulum et servorum dux, profanatis omnibus, in
cella Iovis optimi maximi habitaret, Tusculi ante
quam Romæ sunt arma. In dubio fuit, utrum L. 8
Mamilius, Tusculanus dux, an P. Valerius et C.
Claudius consules Romanam arcem liberarent; et qui
ante Latinos ne pro se quidem ipsis, quum in finibus
hostem haberent, attingere arma passi sumus, nunc,
nisi Latini sua sponte arma sumpsissent, capti et
deleti eramus. Hoc est, tribuni, auxilium plebi ferre, 9
inermem eam hosti trucidandam obiicere? Scilicet si
quis vobis humillimus homo de vestra plebe, quam
partem velut abruptam a cetero populo vestram
patriam peculiaremque rem publicam fecistis, si quis

ex his domum suam obsessam a familia armata nun-
10 tiaret, ferendum auxilium putaretis; Iuppiter optimus maximus exsulum atque servorum sæptus armis nulla humana ope dignus erat? Et hi postulant, ut sacrosancti habeantur, quibus ipsi dii neque sacri neque
11 sancti sunt? At enim, divinis humanisque obruti sceleribus, legem vos hoc anno perlaturos dictitatis. Tum hercule illo die, quo ego consul sum creatus, male gesta res publica est, peius multo, quam quum P. Valerius
12 consul periit. "Iam primum omnium" inquit, "Quirites, in Volscos et Æquos mihi atque collegæ legiones ducere in animo est. Nescio quo fato magis bellantes quam pacati propitios habemus deos. Quantum periculum ab illis populis fuerit, si Capitolium ab exsulibus obsessum scissent, suspicari de præterito quam re ipsa experiri est melius."

The tribunes threatening to prevent the levy, Quinctius informs the people that they are still under the obligation of their oath to Valerius.

20 Moverat plebem oratio consulis; erecti patres restitutam credebant rem publicam. Consul alter, comes animosior quam auctor, suscepisse collegam priorem actiones tam graves facile passus, in peragendis consularis officii partem ad se
2 vindicabat. Tum tribuni, eludentes velut vana dicta, persequi quærendo, quonam modo exercitum educturi consules essent, quos dilectum habere nemo passurus
3 esset. "Nobis vero" inquit Quinctius "nihil dilectu opus est, quum, quo tempore P. Valerius ad recipiundum Capitolium arma plebi dedit, omnes in verba iuraverint, conventuros se iussu consulis nec iniussu
4 abituros. Edicimus itaque, omnes, qui in verba iurastis, crastina die armati ad lacum Regillum adsitis." Cavillari tum tribuni et populum exsolvere

religione velle: privatum eo tempore Quinctium fuisse, quum sacramento adacti sint. Sed nondum hæc, quæ 5
nunc tenet sæculum, negligentia deum venerat, nec interpretando sibi quisque ius iurandum et leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potius mores ad ea accommodabat. Igitur tribuni, ut impediendæ 6
rei nulla spes erat, de proferendo exitu agere, eo magis, quod et augures iussos adesse ad Regillum lacum fama exierat, locumque inaugurari, ubi auspicato cum populo agi posset, ut, quicquid Romæ vi tribunicia rogatum esset,
id comitiis ibi abrogaretur: omnes id iussuros, quod 7
consules vellent; neque enim provocationem esse longius ab urbe mille passuum, et tribunos, si eo veniant, in alia turba Quiritium subiectos fore consulari imperio. Terrebant hæc; sed ille maximus 8
terror animos agitabat, quod sæpius Quinctius dictitabat, se consulum comitia non habiturum; non ita civitatem ægram esse, ut consuetis remediis sisti posset; dictatore opus esse rei publicæ, ut, qui se moverit ad sollicitandum statum civitatis, sentiat, sine provocatione dictaturam esse.

A rumour that the patricians intend to transfer the comitia to a place in the neighbourhood of lake Regillus, outside the *provocatio*.

21
Senatus in Capitolio erat; eo tribuni cum perturbata plebe veniunt. Multitudo clamore ingenti nunc consulum, nunc patrum fidem implorant; nec ante moverunt de sententia consulem, quam tribuni se in auctoritate patrum futuros esse
polliciti sunt. Tunc referente consule 2
de tribunorum et plebis postulatis, senatus consultum fit, ut neque tribuni legem eo anno ferrent neque consules

A compromise is made, the tribunes are not to bring forward the law, nor the consul to lead out the army. The Senate having decided that it is inexpedient that the same magistrates should be re-elected year after year, the plebs proceed at once to re-elect the tribunes, the patricians intending to retaliate are prevented by Quinctius, who refuses to be re-elected.

ab urbe exercitum educerent; in reliquum magistratus
continuari et eosdem tribunos refici, iudicare senatum
3 contra rem publicam esse. Consules fuere in patrum
potestate; tribuni reclamantibus consulibus refecti.
Patres quoque, ne quid cederent plebi, et ipsi L.
Quinctium consulem reficiebant. Nulla toto anno
4 vehementior actio consulis fuit. "Mirer" inquit, "si
vana vestra, patres conscripti, auctoritas ad plebem
est? Vos elevatis eam; quippe, quia plebs senatus
consultum continuandis magistratibus solvit, ipsi quo-
5 que solutum vultis, ne temeritati multitudinis cedatis,
tanquam id sit plus posse in civitate, plus levitatis ac
licentiæ habere. Levius enim vaniusque profecto est
6 sua decreta et consulta tollere quam aliorum. Imita-
mini, patres conscripti, turbam inconsultam, et, qui
exemplo aliis esse debetis, aliorum exemplo peccate
potius, quam alii vestro recte faciant, dum ego ne
imiter tribunos nec me contra senatus consultum con-
7 sulem renuntiati patiar. Te vero, C. Claudi, ad-
hortor, ut et ipse populum Romanum hac licentia
arceas et de me hoc tibi persuadeas, me ita accep-
turum, ut non honorem meum a te impeditum, sed
gloriam spreti honoris auctam invidiamque, quæ ex
8 continuato eo impenderet, levatam putem." Com-
muniter inde edicunt, ne quis L. Quinctium consulem
faceret; si quis fecisset, se id suffragium non observa-
22 turos. Consules creati Q. Fabius Vibulanus tertium
et L. Cornelius Maluginensis. Census actus eo anno;
lustrum propter Capitolium captum, consulem occisum
condi religiosum fuit.

2 Q. Fabio, L. Cornelio consulibus principio anni
statim res turbulentæ. Instigabant plebem tribuni;

bellum ingens a Volscis et Æquis Latini atque Hernici nuntiabant: iam Antii Volscorum legiones esse. Et ipsam coloniam ingens metus erat defecturam; ægreque impetratum a tribunis, ut bellum præverti sinerent.

War with Volsci and Aequi—the former are attacked and defeated in their camp at Antium by Fabius,

Consules inde partiti provincias: Fabio, ut le- 3
giones Antium duceret, datum, Cornelio, ut Romæ præsidio esset, ne qua pars hostium, qui Æquis mos erat, ad populandum veniret. Hernici et Latini iussi milites 4
dare ex fœdere, duæque partes sociorum in exercitu, tertia civium fuit. Postquam ad diem præstitutum venerunt socii, consul extra portam Capenam castra locat. Inde, lustrato exercitu, Antium profectus haud procul oppido stativisque hostium consedit. Ubi quum 5
Volsci, quia nondum ab Æquis venisset exercitus, dimicare non aussi, quemadmodum quieti vallo se tutarentur, pararent, postero die Fabius non permixtam unam sociorum civiumque, sed trium populorum tres separatim acies circa vallum hostium instruxit; ipse 6
erat medius cum legionibus Romanis. Inde signum observari iussit, ut pariter et socii rem inciperent referrentque pedem, si receptui cecinisset. Equites item 7
suæ cuique parti post principia collocat. Ita trifariam adortus castra circumvenit et, quum undique instaret, non sustinentes impetum Volscos vallo deturbat. Transgressus inde munitiones pavidam turbam inclinatamque in partem unam castris expellit. Inde effuse 8
fugientes eques, cui superare vallum haud facile fuerat, quum ad id spectator pugnæ adstitisset, libero campo adeptus parte victoriæ fruitur territos cædendo. Mag- 9
na et in castris et extra munimenta cædes fugientium fuit, sed præda maior, quia vix arma secum efferre

hostis potuit; deletusque exercitus foret, ni fugientes silvæ texissent.

the latter seize the citadel of Tusculum. Fabius hurries thither from Antium and lays siege to them; reduced by famine they capitulate, are passed under the yoke, and returning home are overtaken and cut to pieces by the consul at Columen. The two consuls then ravage the Volscian and Æquian territories, and the war is brought to a close.

23 Dum ad Antium hæc geruntur, interim Æqui, robore iuventutis præmisso, arcem Tusculanam improviso nocte capiunt, reliquo exercitu haud procul mœnibus Tusculi considunt, ut distenderent hostium co-
2 pias. Hæc celeriter Romam, ab Roma in castra Antium perlata movent Romanos haud secus, quam si Capitolium captum nuntiaretur; adeo et recens erat Tusculanorum meritum et similitudo ipsa periculi reposcere datum auxilium vi-
3 debatur. Fabius, omissis omnibus, prædam ex castris raptim Antium convehit; ibi modico præsidio relicto, citatum agmen Tusculum rapit. Nihil præter arma et quod cocti ad manum fuit cibi, ferre militi licuit; commeatum ab Roma consul Cor-
4 nelius subvehit. Aliquot menses Tusculi bellatum. Parte exercitus consul castra Æquorum oppugnabat; partem Tusculanis dederat ad arcem recuperandam. Vi nunquam eo subiri potuit; fames postremo inde
5 detraxit hostem. Qua postquam ventum ad extremum est, inermes nudique omnes sub iugum ab Tusculanis missi. Hos ignominiosa fuga domum se recipientes Romanus consul in Algido consecutus ad unum omnes
6 occidit. Victor ad Columen (id loco nomen est) exercitu reducto castra locat. Et alter consul, postquam mœnibus iam Romanis, pulso hoste, periculum esse
7 desierat, et ipse ab Roma profectus. Ita bifariam consules ingressi hostium fines ingenti certamine hinc Volscos, hinc Æquos populantur. Eodem anno de-

scisse Antiates, apud plerosque auctores invenio; L.
Cornelium consulem id bellum gessisse oppidumque
cepisse. Certum affirmare, quia nulla apud vetus-
tiores scriptores eius rei mentio est, non ausim.

Tribunician War at home. The praefect of the city procures the postponement of the consideration of the lex, until the return of the consuls; the tribunes, on their side, put off the trial of Volscius, accused of giving false evidence against Kæso (13. 1—4).

Hoc bello perfecto, tribunicium domi bellum patres 24
territat: Clamant fraude fieri, quod foris
teneatur exercitus; frustrationem eam
legis tollendæ esse; se nihilo minus rem
susceptam peracturos. Obtinuit tamen 2
L. Lucretius præfectus urbis, ut actiones
tribuniciæ in adventum consulum differ-
rentur. Erat et nova exorta causa motus. 3
A. Cornelius et Q. Servilius quæstores
M. Volscio, quod falsus haud dubie testis in Cæsonem
exstitisset, diem dixerant. Multis enim emanabat 4
indiciis, neque fratrem Volscii, ex quo semel fuerit
æger, unquam non modo visum in publico, sed ne as-
surrexisse quidem ex morbo, multorumque tabe men- 5
sum mortuum, nec iis temporibus, in quæ testis crimen
coniecisset, Cæsonem Romæ visum, affirmantibus, qui
una meruerant, secum eum tum frequentem ad signa
sine ullo commeatu fuisse. Nisi ita esset, multi pri-
vatim ferebant Volscio iudicem. Quum ad iudicium 6
ire non auderet, omnes eæ res in unum congruentes
haud magis dubiam damnationem Volscii, quam Cæ-
sonis Volscio teste fuerat, faciebant. In mora tribuni 7
erant, qui comitia quæstores habere de reo, nisi prius
habita de lege essent, passuros negabant. Ita extracta
utraque res in consulum adventum est. Qui ubi tri- 8
umphantes victore cum exercitu urbem inierunt, quia
silentium de lege erat, perculsos magna pars credebant
tribunos; at illi (etenim extremum anni iam erat), 9

quartum affectantes tribunatum, in comitiorum disceptationem ab lege certamen averterant. Et quum consules nihilo minus adversus continuationem tribunatus, quam si lex minuendæ suæ maiestatis causa promulgata ferretur, tetendissent, victoria certaminis penes tribunos fuit.

Peace made with Æqui. Census. 117,319 citizens.

10 Eodem anno Æquis pax est petentibus data. Census, res priore anno inchoata, perficitur, idque lustrum ab origine urbis decimum conditum ferunt. Censa civium capita
11 centum septendecim millia trecenta undeviginti. Consulum magna domi bellique eo anno gloria fuit, quod et foris pacem peperere, et domi, etsi non concors, minus tamen quam alias infesta civitas fuit.

The domestic struggles are renewed, but interrupted by hostile movements on the part of the Æqui. The Senate, having in vain sent an embassy to Gracchus Clœlius, leader of the Æqui, to protest against the violation of the treaty of peace, commission one of the consuls to proceed against Gracchus on Mt. Algidus, the other to ravage the Æquian lands. The tribunes are proceeding *suo more* to impede the levy,

25 L. Minucius inde et C. Nautius consules facti duas residuas anni prioris causas exceperunt.
2 Eodem modo consules legem, tribuni iudicium de Volscio impediebant; sed in quæstoribus novis maior vis, maior aucto-
3 ritas erat. Cum M. Valerio Manii filio, Volesi nepote, quæstor erat T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter consul fuerat. Is, quoniam neque Quinctiæ familiæ Cæso neque rei publicæ maximus iuvenum restitui posset, falsum testem, qui dicendæ causæ innoxio potestatem ademisset,
4 iusto ac pio bello persequebatur. Quum Verginius maxime ex tribunis de lege ageret, duum mensum spatium consulibus datum est ad inspiciendam legem, ut, quum edocuissent populum, quid fraudis occultæ ferretur, sinerent deinde suffragium inire. Hoc intervalli datum res tranquillas in urbe

fecit. Nec diuturnam quietem Æqui dederunt, qui, 5
rupto fœdere, quod ictum erat priore anno cum Ro-
manis, imperium ad Gracchum Clœlium deferunt; is
tum longe princeps in Æquis erat. Graccho duce in 6
Lavicanum agrum, inde in Tusculanum hostili popu-
latione veniunt, plenique prædæ in Algido castra locant.
In ea castra Q. Fabius, P. Volumnius, A. Postumius
legati ab Roma venerunt questum iniurias et ex fœdere
res repetitum. Eos Æquorum imperator, quæ man- 7
data habeant ab senatu Romano, ad quercum iubet
dicere; se alia interim acturum. Quercus ingens
arbor prætorio imminebat, cuius umbra opaca sedes
erat. Tum ex legatis unus abiens "Et hæc" inquit 8
"sacrata quercus et quicquid deorum est, audiant,
fœdus a vobis ruptum, nostrisque et nunc querelis
adsint et mox armis, quum deorum hominumque simul
violata iura exsequemur." Romam ut rediere legati, 9
senatus iussit alterum consulem contra Gracchum in
Algidum exercitum ducere, alteri populationem finium
Æquorum provinciam dedit. Tribuni suo more im-
pedire dilectum, et forsitan ad ultimum impedissent;
sed novus subito additus terror est. Vis Sabinorum 26
ingens prope ad mœnia urbis infesta po-
pulatione venit; fœdati agri, terror in-
iectus urbi est. Tum plebs benigne arma
cepit; reclamantibus frustra tribunis
magni duo exercitus scripti. Alterum 2
Nautius contra Sabinos duxit, castrisque
ad Eretum positis, per expeditiones par-
vas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus,
tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddi-
dit, ut comparati ad eam prope intacti

when a panic is caused by an irruption of Sabines into the Roman territory, the citizens then take to their arms kindly. Nautius succeeds in ravaging the Sabine lands very satisfactorily. Minucius being besieged in his camp, it is determined to name a dictator. L. Quinctius is named *omnium consensu*. Ambassadors proceeding to his farm on

the other side of the Tiber, find him ploughing (cf. Cic. de Senect. 16. 56); he cleans himself and accompanies them to Rome (so widely did the old Romans differ from the Romans of Livy's time in their view of the relation of worth to wealth).

3 bello fines Romani viderentur. Minucio
neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem in
gerendo negotio fuit; nam quum haud
procul ab hoste castra posuisset, nulla
magnopere clade accepta, castris se pa-
4 vidus tenebat. Quod ubi senserunt hos-
tes, crevit ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia,
et nocte adorti castra, postquam parum vis aperta
profecerat, munitiones postero die circumdant. Quæ
priusquam undique vallo obiectæ clauderent exitus,
quinque equites inter stationes hostium emissi Romam
5 pertulere, consulem exercitumque obsideri. Nihil tam
inopinatum nec tam insperatum accidere potuit. Ita-
que tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio fuit, quanta si urbem,
6 non castra hostes obsiderent. Nautium consulem ar-
cessunt. In quo quum parum præsidii videretur dic-
tatoremque dici placeret, qui rem perculsam restitueret,
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus consensu omnium dicitur.
7 Operæ pretium est audire, qui omnia præ divitiis
humana spernunt neque honori magno locum neque
8 virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effuse affluant opes. Spes
unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quinctius trans
Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia
sunt, quattuor iugerum colebat agrum, quæ prata
9 Quinctia vocantur. Ibi ab legatis, seu fossam fodiens
palæ innixus, seu quum araret, operi certe, id quod
constat, agresti intentus, salute data in vicem reddi-
taque, rogatus, ut, quod bene verteret ipsi reique
publicæ, togatus mandata senatus audiret, admiratus
rogitansque "Satin' salve?" togam propere e tugurio
10 proferre uxorem Raciliam iubet. Qua simul, absterso
pulvere ac sudore, velatus processit, dictatorem eum

legati gratulantes consalutant, in urbem vocant; qui terror sit in exercitu, exponunt. Navis Quinctio pub- 11
lice parata fuit, transvectumque tres obviam egressi filii excipiunt, inde alii propinqui atque amici, tum patrum maior pars. Ea frequentia stipatus, antecedentibus lictoribus, deductus est domum. Et plebis 12
concursus ingens fuit; sed ea nequaquam tam læta Quinctium vidit, et imperii nimium et virum ipso imperio vehementiorem rata.

Et illa quidem nocte nihil præterquam vigilatum 27
est in urbe; postero die dictator quum ante lucem in forum venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium, patriciæ gentis et qui, quum stipendia pedibus propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longe Romanæ iuventutis habitus esset. Cum 2
magistro equitum in contionem venit, iustitium edicit, claudi tabernas tota urbe iubet, vetat quemquam privatæ quicquam rei agere; tum, quicunque ætate 3
militari essent, armati cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque duodenis ante solis occasum [Martio] in campo adessent; quibus ætas ad militandum gravior 4
esset, vicino militi, dum is arma pararet vallumque peteret, cibaria coquere iussit. Sic iuventus discurrit 5
ad vallum petendum. Sumpsere, unde cuique proximum fuit; prohibitus nemo est; impigreque omnes ad edictum dictatoris præsto fuere. Inde composito 6
agmine non itineri magis apte quam prœlio, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites ducit. In utroque agmine, quas tempus ipsum poscebat, adhortationes erant: adderent gradum; maturato opus esse, ut nocte ad hostem per- 7

The Dictator first orders a *justitium*, then, rapidly completing his preparations, sets out to Mt. Algidus.

veniri posset; consulem exercitumque Romanum obsideri, tertium diem iam clausos esse; quid quæque nox aut dies ferat, incertum esse; puncto sæpe tem-
8 poris maximarum rerum momenta verti. "Accelera, signifer," "sequere, miles," inter se quoque, gratificantes ducibus, clamabant. Media nocte in Algidum perveniunt et, ut sensere, se iam prope hostes esse,

There he surrounds the enemy by night, who being thus between two Roman armies are compelled to surrender. They are passed under the yoke and dismissed.

28 signa constituunt. Ibi dictator, quantum nocte prospici poterat, equo circumvectus contemplatusque, qui tractus castrorum quæque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit, ut sarcinas in unum coniici iubeant, militem cum armis valloque
2 redire in ordines suos. Facta, quæ imperavit. Tum, quo fuerant ordine in via, exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat hostium castris et, ubi signum datum sit, clamorem omnes tollere iubet, clamore sublato, ante se quemque ducere fossam
3 et iacere vallum. Edito imperio, signum secutum est. Iussa miles exsequitur; clamor hostes circumsonat. Superat inde castra hostium et in castra consulis venit; alibi pavorem, alibi gaudium ingens
4 facit. Romani, civilem esse clamorem atque auxilium adesse, inter se gratulantes, ultro ex stationibus ac
5 vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differendum negat: illo clamore non adventum modo significari, sed rem ab suis cœptam, mirumque esse, ni iam exteriore parte castra hostium oppugnentur. Itaque arma suos ca-
6 pere et se subsequi iubet. Nocte initum prœlium est; legionibus dictatoris clamore significant, ab ea
7 quoque parte rem in discrimine esse. Iam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Æqui parabant, quum

ab interiore hoste prœlio cœpto, ne per media sua
castra fieret eruptio, a munientibus ad pugnantes
introrsum versi vacuam noctem operi dedere; pugna-
tumque cum consule ad lucem est. Luce prima iam 8
circumvallati ab dictatore erant, et vix adversus unum
exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum a Quinctiano
exercitu, qui confestim a perfecto opere ad arma
rediit, invaditur vallum. Hic instabat nova pugna;
illa nihil remiserat prior. Tum ancipiti malo ur- 9
gente, a prœlio ad preces versi hinc dictatorem, hinc
consulem orare, ne in occidione victoriam ponerent,
ut inermes se inde abire sinerent. Ab consule ad
dictatorem ire iussi; is ignominiam infensus addidit;
Gracchum Clœlium ducem principesque alios vinctos 10
ad se adduci iubet, oppido Corbione decedi. San-
guinis se Æquorum non egere; licere abire, sed, ut
exprimatur tandem confessio, subactam domitamque
esse gentem, sub iugum abituros. Tribus hastis 11
iugum fit, humi fixis duabus superque eas trans-
versa una deligata. Sub hoc iugum dictator Æquos
misit.

Castris hostium receptis plenis omnium rerum 29
(nudos enim emiserat), prædam omnem suo tantum militi dedit; consularem exercitum ipsumque consulem increpans "Carebis" inquit "prædæ parte, miles, ex eo hoste, cui prope prædæ fuisti. Et tu, L. Minuci, donec consularem animum incipias habere, legatus his legionibus præeris." Ita se Minucius abdicat consulatu iussusque ad exercitum manet. Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuete obediens erat, ut beneficii

Minucius is reduced to the position of a *legatus*, and his army deprived of their share of the spoil. Quinctius returns to Rome and celebrates a triumph.

magis quam ignominiæ hic exercitus memor et coro-
nam auream dictatori, libram pondo, decreverit et
4 proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit. Romæ a
Q. Fabio præfecto urbis senatus habitus triumphantem
Quinctium, quo veniebat agmine, urbem ingredi iussit.
Ducti ante currum hostium duces; militaria signa
5 prælata; secutus exercitus præda onustus. Epulæ
instructæ dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domos, epu-
lantesque cum carmine triumphali et sollemnibus
iocis comissantium modo currum secuti sunt.

Roman citizenship is conferred on Mamilius of Tusculum. Volscius is brought to trial and condemned. Quinctius lays down his dictatorship. Nautius successful against the Sabines. Minucius superseded by Fabius. The same tribunes elected for the fifth time.

6 Eo die L. Mamilio Tusculano, approbantibus cunc-
tis, civitas data est. Confestim se dic-
tator magistratu abdicasset, ni comitia
M. Volscii, falsi testis, tenuissent. Ea
ne impedirent tribuni, dictatoris obstitit
metus; Volscius damnatus Lanuvium in
7 exsilium abiit. Quinctius sexto decimo
die dictatura in sex menses accepta se
abdicavit. Per eos dies consul Nautius
ad Eretum cum Sabinis egregie pugnat; ad vastatos
agros ea quoque clades accessit Sabinis. Minucio
8 Fabius [Quintus] successor in Algidum missus. Ex-
tremo anno agitatum de lege ab tribunis est; sed quia
duo exercitus aberant, ne quid ferretur ad populum,
patres tenuere; plebes vicit, ut quintum eosdem tri-
9 bunos crearent. Lupos visos in Capitolio ferunt a
canibus fugatos; ob id prodigium lustratum Capitolium
esse. Hæc eo anno gesta.

Agitations beginning again in the city are interrupted by news of Æquian and Sabine invasion.

30 Sequuntur consules Q. Minucius, C. Horatius
Pulvillus. Cuius initio anni quum foris
otium esset, domi seditiones iidem tri
2 buni, eadem lex faciebat; ulteriusque

ventum foret (adeo exarserant animis),
ni, velut dedita opera, nocturno impetu
Æquorum Corbione amissum præsidium
nuntiatum esset. Senatum consules 3
vocant; iubentur subitarium scribere
exercitum atque in Algidum ducere.

The tribunes by threatening to prevent the levy extort from the patricians their consent to the number of tribunes being raised to ten. Successes of the consul Horatius against the Sabines.

Inde, posito legis certamine, nova de dilectu contentio
orta; vincebaturque consulare imperium tribunicio 4
auxilio, quum alius additur terror, Sabinum exercitum
prædatum descendisse in agros Romanos, inde ad urbem
venire. Is metus perpulit, ut scribi militem tribuni 5
sinerent, non sine pactione tamen, ut quoniam ipsi
quinquennium elusi essent parvumque id plebi præ-
sidium foret, decem deinde tribuni plebis crearentur.
Expressit hoc necessitas patribus; id modo excepere, 6
ne postea eosdem tribunos viderent. Tribunicia co-
mitia, ne id quoque post bellum ut cetera vanum esset,
extemplo habita. Tricesimo sexto anno a primis tribuni 7
plebis decem creati sunt, bini ex singulis classibus;
itaque cautum est ut postea crearentur. Dilectu 8
deinde habito, Minucius contra Sabinos profectus non
invenit hostem. Horatius, quum iam Æqui, Corbione
interfecto præsidio, Ortonam etiam cepissent, in Algido
pugnat; multos mortales occidit; fugat hostem non ex
Algido modo, sed a Corbione Ortonaque. Corbionem
etiam diruit propter proditum præsidium.

Deinde M. Valerius, Sp. Verginius consules facti. 31
Domi forisque otium fuit; annona prop-
ter aquarum intemperiem laboratum est.
De Aventino publicando lata lex est.
Tribuni plebis iidem refecti. Hi se- 2
quente anno, T. Romilio. C. Venturio

Law passed to make the Aventine tenantable domain land; renewed agitations in favour of the Terentilian law are again interrupted by news from Tusculum of inva-

sion by Æqui. Victory over the Æqui at Algidus. The consuls sell the spoil for the benefit of the treasury, for which they are impeached by the tribunes and condemned to heavy fines.

consulibus, legem omnibus contionibus
suis celebrabant: pudere se numeri sui
nequicquam aucti, si ea res æque suo
biennio iaceret, ac toto superiore lustro
3 iacuisset. Quum maxime hæc agerent,
trepidi nuntii ab Tusculo veniunt, Æquos
in agro Tusculano esse. Fecit pudorem recens eius
populi meritum morandi auxilii. Ambo consules cum
exercitu missi hostem in sua sede, in Algido inveniunt.
4 Ibi pugnatum. Supra septem millia hostium cæsa, alii
fugati; præda parta ingens. Eam propter inopiam
ærarii consules vendiderunt. Invidiæ tamen res ad
exercitum fuit, eademque tribunis materiam criminandi ad plebem consules præbuit.

5 Itaque ergo, ut magistratu abiere, Sp. Tarpeio, A.
Aternio consulibus dies dicta est Romilio ab C. Calvio
Cicerone tribuno plebis, Veturio ab L. Alieno ædile
6 plebis. Uterque magna patrum indignatione damnatus, Romilius decem millibus æris, Veturius quindecim.
Nec hæc priorum calamitas consulum segniores novos
fecerat consules. Et se damnari posse aiebant, et

Compromise proposed by tribunes that a commission of patricians and plebeians be appointed to frame a code of equal laws—the patricians assent as far as the code is concerned, but claim for their order the right of framing it. Commissioners sent to Greece to procure a copy of the Solonian laws and to acquaint themselves with the political institutions of other Greek states as well.

plebem et tribunos legem ferre non posse.
7 Tum abiecta lege, quæ promulgata consenuerat, tribuni lenius agere cum patribus: Finem tandem certaminum facerent. Si plebeiæ leges displicerent, at
illi communiter legum latores et ex
plebe et ex patribus, qui utrisque
utilia ferrent quæque æquandæ libertatis
8 essent, sinerent creari. Rem non aspernabantur patres; laturum leges neminem nisi ex patribus aiebant. Quum

de legibus conveniret, de latore tantum discreparet, missi legati Athenas Sp. Postumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius Camerinus, iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere et aliarum Græciæ civitatium instituta, mores iuraque noscere.

Ab externis bellis quietus annus fuit, quietior 32
insequens, P. Curiatio et Sex. Quinctilio consulibus, perpetuo silentio tribunorum, quod primo legatorum, qui Athenas ierant, legumque peregrinarum exspectatio præbuit, dein duo simul mala ingentia exorta, fames pes- 2
tilentiaque, fœda homini, fœda pecori. Vastati agri sunt, urbs assiduis exhausta funeribus; multæ et claræ lugubres domus. Flamen Quirinalis Ser. Cornelius 3
mortuus, augur C. Horatius Pulvillus, in cuius locum C. Veturium eo cupidius, quia damnatus a plebe erat, augures legere. Mortuus consul Quinctilius, quattuor 4
tribuni plebi. Multiplici clade fœdatus annus; ab hoste otium fuit. Inde consules C. Menenius, P. 5
Sestius Capitolinus. Neque eo anno quicquam belli externi fuit; domi motus orti. Iam redierant legati 6
cum Atticis legibus. Eo intentius instabant tribuni, ut tandem scribendarum legum initium fieret. Placet, creari decemviros sine provocatione, et ne quis eo anno alius magistratus esset. Admiscerenturne plebeii, 7
controversia aliquamdiu fuit; postremo concessum patribus, modo ne lex Icilia de Aventino aliæque sacratæ leges abrogarentur.

Return of the pestilence—great mortality among human beings and cattle.

Anno trecentesimo altero, quam condita Roma 33
erat, iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decemviros, quemadmodum ab regibus ante ad consules vene-

The commissioners return, and it is resolved to appoint ten commissioners to draw up a code

of law—these decemvirs are to be *sine provocatione*, and to supersede all ordinary magistrates for that year.

2 rat, translato imperio. Minus insignis
quia non diuturna, mutatio fuit. Læta
enim principia magistratus eius nimis
luxuriavere; eo citius lapsa res est re-
petitumque, duobus uti mandaretur consulum nomen

The names of the decemvirs. Appius the leading decemvir.

3 imperiumque. Decemviri creati App.
Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L.
Veturius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P.
Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius.
4 Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum
annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio,
alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem collega
5 invito ad patres rettulerat. His proximi habiti legati
tres, qui Athenas ierant, simul pro legatione tam
longinqua præmio esset honos, simul peritos legum
peregrinarum ad condenda nova iura usui fore crede-
6 bant. Supplevere ceteri numerum. Graves quoque
ætate electos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo minus
7 ferociter aliorum scitis adversarentur. Regimen totius
magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis, adeoque
novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repente
omnisque auræ popularis captator evaderet pro truci
8 sævoque insectatore plebis. Decimo die ius populo
singuli reddebant. Eo die penes præfectum iuris
fasces duodecim erant; collegis novem singuli accensi
apparebant. Et in unica concordia inter ipsos, qui
consensus privatis interdum inutilis est, summa ad-
9 versus alios æquitas erat. Moderationis eorum argu-

Remarkable instance of self-denial on the part of the decemvirs.

mentum exemplo unius rei notasse satis
erit. Quum sine provocatione creati
essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P.
10 Sestium, patriciæ gentis virum, invento prolatoque in

contionem, in re iuxta manifesta atque atroci C. Iulius
decemvir diem Sestio dixit et accusator ad populum
exstitit, cuius rei iudex legitimus erat, decessitque iure
suo, ut demptum de vi magistratus populi libertati
adiiceret.

Ten tables are finished and published.

Quum promptum hoc ius velut ex oraculo incor- 34
ruptum pariter ab iis summi infimique
ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera
dabatur; ingentique hominum exspectatione propositis
decem tabulis, populum ad contionem advocaverunt et, 2
quod bonum, faustum felixque rei publicæ, ipsis libe-
risque eorum esset, ire et legere leges propositas ius-
sere. Se, quantum decem hominum ingeniis provideri 3
potuerit, omnibus, summis infimisque, iura æquasse;
plus pollere multorum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent 4
in animis secum unamquamque rem, agitarent deinde
sermonibus atque in medium, quid in quaque re plus
minusve esset, conferrent. Eas legis habiturum popu- 5
lum Romanum, quas consensus omnium non iussisse
latas magis quam tulisse videri posset. Quum ad 6
rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite editos
satis correctæ viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem
tabularum leges perlatæ sunt, quæ nunc quoque,
in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum
legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est iuris.

Two tables being still required to complete the code, the decemvirs seek re-election. The election hotly contested between them and other leading men in the state. Popular behaviour of Appius: in spite

Vulgatur deinde rumor, duas deesse tabulas, 7
quibus adiectis absolvi posse velut
corpus omnis Romani iuris. Ea ex-
spectatio, quum dies comitiorum appro-
pinquaret, desiderium decemviros ite-
rum creandi fecit. Iam plebs, præter- 8
quam quod consulum nomen haud secus

of the trick of the optimates, who appoint him to preside at the comitia, he proposes himself and is re-elected. The names of the others.

quam regum perosa erat, ne tribunicium
quidem auxilium, cedentibus in vicem
35 appellationi decemviris, quærebat. Post-
quam vero comitia decemviris creandis
2 in trinum nundinum indicta sunt, tanta
exarsit ambitio, ut primores quoque civitatis (metu,
credo, ne tanti possessio imperii, vacuo ab se relicto
loco, haud satis dignis pateret) prensarent homines,
honorem summa ope a se impugnatum ab ea plebe, cum
3 qua contenderant, suppliciter petentes. Demissa iam
in discrimen dignitas ea ætate iisque honoribus actis
stimulabat App. Claudium. Nescires, utrum inter
4 decemviros an inter candidatos numerares; propior
interdum petendo quam gerendo magistratui erat.
Criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levis-
simum quemque humillimumque, ipse medius inter
5 tribunicios, Duillios Iciliosque, in foro volitare, per
illos se plebi venditare, donec collegæ quoque, qui
unice illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, coniecere in eum
6 oculos, mirantes, quid sibi vellet. Apparere, nihil
sinceri esse; profecto haud gratuitam in tanta superbia
comitatem fore; nimium in ordinem se ipsum cogere
et vulgari cum privatis non tam properantis abire
magistratu quam viam ad continuandum magistratum
7 quærentis esse. Propalam obviam ire cupiditati parum
ausi, obsecundando mollire impetum aggrediuntur.
Comitiorum illi habendorum, quando minimus natu
8 sit, munus consensu iniungunt. Ars hæc erat, ne
semet ipse creare posset, quod præter tribunos plebi
(et id ipsum pessimo exemplo) nemo unquam fecisset.
Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat, habiturum se comi-
tia professus, impedimentum pro occasione arripuit;

deiectisque honore per coitionem duobus Quinctiis, 9
Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo viro in optimatium causa, et aliis eiusdem fastigii civibus, nequaquam splendore vitæ
pares decemviros creat, se in primis, quod haud secus 10
factum improbabant boni, quam nemo facere ausurum
crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis, 11
M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Pœtelius, T. Antonius Merenda, K. Duillius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M'. Rabuleius.

Ille finis Appio alienæ personæ ferendæ fuit. Suo 36
iam inde vivere ingenio cœpit novosque collegas, iam priusquam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare. Quotidie
coibant remotis arbitris; inde impoten- 2
tibus instructi consiliis, quæ secreto ab aliis coquebant, iam haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditus, colloquentibus difficiles, ad idus Maias rem perduxere.
Idus tum Maiæ sollemnes ineundis 3
magistratibus erant. Inito igitur magistratu primum honoris diem denuntiatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere. Nam quum ita priores decemviri servassent, ut unus fasces haberet et hoc insigne regium in orbem, suam cuiusque vicem, per omnes iret, subito omnes
cum duodenis fascibus prodiere. Centum viginti lic- 4
tores forum impleverant et cum fascibus secures illigatas præferebant; nec attinuisse demi securem, quum
sine provocatione creati essent, interpretabantur. De- 5
cem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror non infimis solum, sed primoribus patrum, ratis cædis causam ac principium quæri, ut, si quis memorem

Complete change in the conduct of Appius. The decemvirs assume the behaviour and insignia of absolute rulers. The code is complete, but they do not lay down their office. Mutual jealousies and the corruption of the patrician youth by the decemvirs make the people helpless to resist them.

libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset,
statim virgæ securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum
6 expedirentur. Nam præterquam quod in populo nihil
erat præsidii, sublata provocatione, intercessionem quo-
que consensu sustulerant, quum priores decemviri,
appellatione collegæ corrigi reddita ab se iura, tulissent
et quædam, quæ sui iudicii videri possent, ad populum
7 reiecissent. Aliquamdiu æquatus inter omnes terror
fuit; paulatim totus vertere in plebem cœpit; abstine-
batur a patribus; in humiliores libidinose crudeliterque
consulebatur. Hominum, non causarum toti erant,
8 ut apud quos gratia vim æqui haberet. Iudicia domi
conflabant, pronuntiabant in foro. Si quis collegam
appellasset, ab eo, ad quem venerat, ita discedebat, ut
9 pœniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam
sine auctore exierat, non in præsentis modo temporis
eos iniuriam conspirasse, sed fœdus clandestinum inter
ipsos iure iurando ictum, ne comitia haberent per-
petuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent im-
37 perium. Circumspectare tum patriciorum vultus ple-
beii et inde libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem
timendo in eum statum rem publicam adduxerant.
2 Primores patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem;
nec probare, quæ fierent, et credere, haud indignis
accidere; avide ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem
3 elapsos iuvare nolle, cumulari quoque iniurias, ut tædio
præsentium consules duo tandem et status pristinus
4 rerum in desiderium veniant. Iam et processerat pars
maior anni et duæ tabulæ legum ad prioris anni decem
tabulas erant adiectæ, nec quicquam iam supererat, si
eæ quoque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatæ essent, cur
5 eo magistratu rei publicæ opus esset. Exspectabant,

quam mox consulibus creandis comitia edicerentur.
Id modo plebes agitabat, quonam modo tribuniciam
potestatem, munimentum libertati, rem intermissam,
repararent, quum interim mentio comitiorum nulla
fieri. Et decemviri, qui primo tribunicios homines, 6
quia id populare habebatur, circum se ostentaverant
plebi, patriciis iuvenibus sæpserant latera. Eorum 7
catervæ tribunalia obsederant. Hi ferre agere plebem
plebisque res, quum fortuna æqua, quicquid cupitum
foret, potentioris esset. Et iam ne tergo quidem 8
abstinebatur; virgis cædi, alii securi subiici; et, ne
gratuita crudelitas esset, bonorum donatio sequi domini
supplicium. Hac mercede iuventus nobilis corrupta
non modo non ire obviam iniuriæ, sed propalam li-
centiam suam malle quam omnium libertatem.

Idus Maiæ venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus, 38
privati pro decemviris, neque animis ad
imperium inhibendum imminutis neque
ad speciem honoris insignibus, prodeunt.
Id vero regnum haud dubie videri. Deploratur in 2
perpetuum libertas, nec vindex quisquam exsistit aut
futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solum desponderant animos,
sed contemni cœpti erant a finitimis populis, imperium-
que ibi esse, ubi non esset libertas, indignabantur.
Sabini magna manu incursionem in agrum Romanum 3
fecere; lateque populati quum hominum atque pecu-
dum inulti prædas egissent, recepto ad Eretum, quod
passim vagatum erat, agmine, castra locant, spem in
discordia Romana ponentes: eam impedimentum di-
lectui fore. Non nuntii solum, sed per urbem agres- 4
tium fuga trepidationem iniecit. Decemviri consul-
tant, quid opus facto sit, destituti inter patrum et

Inroads by Sabines and Æqui into Roman and Tusculan territories.

plebis odia. Addit terrorem insuper alium fortuna.
5 Æqui alia ex parte castra in Algido locant depopulan-
turque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum; legati
ab Tusculo, præsidium orantes, nuntiant.

The decemvirs are compelled to summon the Senate.

6 Is pavor perpulit decemviros, ut sena-
tum, simul duobus circumstantibus urbem bellis, con-
sulerent. Citari iubent in curiam patres, haud ignari,
7 quanta invidiæ immineret tempestas: omnes vastati
agri periculorumque imminentium causas in se con-
gesturos, tentationemque eam fore abolendi sibi magis-
tratus, ni consensu resisterent imperioque inhibendo
acriter in paucos præferocis animi conatus aliorum
8 comprimerent. Postquam audita vox in foro est præ-
conis patres in curiam ad decemviros vocantis, velut
nova res, quia intermiserant iam diu morem consu-
lendi senatus, mirabundam plebem convertit, quidnam
incidisset, cur ex tanto intervallo rem desuetam usur-
9 parent; hostibus belloque gratiam habendam, quod
solitum quicquam liberæ civitati fieret. Circum-
spectare omnibus fori partibus senatorem, raroque
usquam noscitare; curiam inde ac solitudinem circa
10 decemviros intueri, quum et ipsi, consensu invisum
imperium, et plebs, quia privatis ius non esset vocandi
senatum, non convenire patres, interpretarentur; iam
patefieri libertatem repetendi viam, si se plebs comitem
senatui det et, quemadmodum patres vocati non coeant
11 in senatum, sic plebs abnuat dilectum. Hæc fremunt
plebes. Patrum haud fere quisquam in
foro, in urbe rari erant. Indignitate
rerum cesserant in agros, suarumque
rerum erant, amissa publica, tantum ab
iniuria se abesse rati, quantum a cœtu congressuque

The senators have to be summoned from their country estates whither they had withdrawn from the city in disgust.

impotentium dominorum se amovissent. Postquam 12
citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos apparitores
simul ad pignera capienda sciscitandumque, num con-
sulto detrectarent, referunt senatum in agris esse.
Lætius id decemviris accidit, quam si præsentes de-
trectare imperium referrent. Iubent acciri omnes, 13
senatumque in diem posterum edicunt; qui aliquanto
spe ipsorum frequentior convenit. Quo facto, proditam
a patribus plebs libertatem rata, quod iis, qui iam
magistratu abissent, privatisque, si vis abesset, tam-
quam iure cogentibus senatus paruisset.

Sed magis obedienter ventum in curiam [est] 39
quam obnoxie dictas sententias acce-
pimus. L. Valerium Potitum prodi- 2
tum memoriæ est post relationem App.
Claudii, priusquam ordine sententiæ
rogarentur, postulando, ut de re pub-
lica liceret dicere, prohibentibus minaciter decem-
viris, proditurum se ad plebem denuntiantem, tumul-
tum excivisse. Nec minus ferociter M. Horatium 3
Barbatum isse in certamen, decem Tarquinios ap-
pellantem admonentemque, Valeriis et Horatiis du-
cibus pulsos reges. Nec nominis homines tum per- 4
tæsum esse, quippe quo Iovem appellari fas sit, quo
Romulum, conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges, quod
sacris etiam ut sollemne retentum sit; superbiam
violentiamque tum perosos regis. Quæ si in rege 5
tum † eodem aut in filio regis ferenda non fuerint,
quem laturum in tot privatis? Viderent, ne vetando 6
in curia libere homines loqui extra curiam etiam
moverent vocem; neque se videre, qui sibi minus
privato ad contionem populum vocare quam illis

Meeting of the Senate. Violent speeches of L. Valerius Politus and M. Horatius Barbatus against the decemvirs.

7 senatum cogere liceat. Ubi vellent, experirentur,
quanto fortior dolor in libertate sua vindicanda quam
8 cupiditas in iniusta dominatione esset. De bello
Sabino eos referre, tanquam maius ullum populo
Romano bellum sit quam cum iis, qui legum feren-
darum causa creati nihil iuris in civitate reliquerint,
qui comitia, qui annuos magistratus, qui vicissitudinem
imperitandi, quod unum exæquandæ sit libertatis,
sustulerint, qui privati fasces et regium imperium
9 habeant. Fuisse regibus exactis patricios magis-
tratus; creatos postea post secessionem plebis ple-
beios; cuius illi partis essent, rogitare. Populares?
Quid enim eos per populum egisse? Optimates?
Qui anno iam prope senatum non habuerint, nunc
10 ita habeant, ut de re publica loqui prohibeant? Ne
nimium in metu alieno spei ponerent; graviora, quæ
patiantur, videri iam hominibus, quam quæ metuant.

40 Hæc vociferante Horatio quum decemviri nec iræ
nec ignoscendi modum reperirent nec,
2 quo evasura res esset, cernerent, C. Clau-
dii, qui patruus Appii decemviri erat,
oratio fuit precibus quam iurgio similior,
orantis per sui fratris parentisque eius
3 manes, ut civilis potius societatis, in qua
natus esset, quam fœderis nefarie icti
cum collegis meminisset. Multo id magis
se illius causa orare quam rei publicæ;
4 quippe rem publicam, si a volentibus ne-
queat, ab invitis ius expetiturum; sed ex
magno certamine magnas excitari ferme
5 iras; earum eventum se horrere. Quum
alios, præterquam de quo rettulissent, decemviri dicere

C. Claudius after appealing to the good feeling of his nephew the decemvir, proposes that no resolution be passed. Another proposal is made that the Patricians proceed to elect an interrex. Finally L. Cornelius Maluginensis persuades the Senate that it is not advisable to discuss the state of the republic till the wars are disposed of, and moves that, if the reports about the movements of the Sabines and Æqui prove to be correct, a levy be held at once.

prohiberent, Claudium interpellandi verecundia fuit. Sententiam igitur peregit, nullum placere senatus consultum fieri. Omnesque ita accipiebant, privatos eos a 6
Claudio iudicatos; multique ex consularibus verbo assensi sunt. Alia sententia, asperior in speciem, vim 7
minorem aliquanto habuit, quæ patricios coire ad prodendum interregem iubebat. Censendo enim quodcunque, magistratus esse, qui senatum haberent, iudicabat, quos privatos fecerat auctor nullius senatus consulti faciendi. Ita labante iam causa decemvirorum, L. Cor- 8
nelius Maluginensis, M. Cornelii decemviri frater, quum ex consularibus ad ultimum dicendi locum consulto servatus esset, simulando curam belli fratrem collegasque eius tuebatur, quonam fato incidisset, mirari se dicti- 9
tans, ut decemviros, qui decemviratum petissent, aut soli aut hi maxime oppugnarent, aut quid ita, quum per 10
tot menses vacua civitate nemo, iustine magistratus summæ rerum præessent, controversiam fecerit, nunc demum, quum hostes prope ad portas sint, civiles discordias serant, nisi quod in turbido minus perspicuum fore putent, quid agatur. Ceterum (etenim, 11
maiore cura occupatis animis, verum esse, præiudicium rei tantæ haud fieri) sibi placere de eo, quod Valerius Horatiusque ante idus Maias decemviros abisse magistratu insimulent, bellis, quæ immineant, perfectis, re publica in tranquillum redacta, senatu disceptante agi, et iam nunc ita se parare App. Claudium, ut 12
comitiorum, quæ decemviris creandis decemvir ipse habuerit, sciat sibi rationem reddendam esse, utrum in unum annum creati sint, an, donec leges, quæ deessent, perferrentur. In præsentia omnia præter 13
bellum omitti placere; cuius si falso famam vulgatam,

vanaque non nuntios solum, sed Tusculanorum etiam legatos attulisse putent, speculatores mittendos cen-
14 sere, qui certius explorata referant; sin fides et nuntiis et legatis habeatur, dilectum primo quoque tempore haberi, decemviros, quo cuique eorum videatur, exercitus ducere, nec rem aliam præverti.

Valerius and Horatius again assert their right to speak *de re publica*. The former is being removed from the Senate by the order of Appius, when L. Cornelius interposes and obtains leave for him to speak as he wishes. The decemvirs however carry their point, and the levy is held.

41 In hanc sententiam ut discederetur, iuniores patrum evincebant. Ferocioresque iterum coorti Valerius Horatiusque vociferari, ut de re publica liceret dicere; dicturos ad populum, si in senatu per factionem non liceat; neque enim sibi privatos aut in curia aut in contione posse obstare, neque se imaginariis fas-
2 cibus eorum cessuros esse. Tum Appius iam prope esse ratus, ut, ni violentiæ eorum pari resisteretur audacia, victum im-
3 perium esset, "Non erit melius" inquit, "nisi de quo consulimus, vocem misisse," et ad Valerium, negantem se privato reticere, lictorem accedere iussit.
4 Iam Quiritium fidem implorante Valerio a curiæ limine, L. Cornelius complexus Appium, non, cui simulabat, consulendo. diremit certamen; factaque per Cornelium Valerio dicendi gratia, quæ vellet, quum libertas non ultra vocem excessisset, decemviri
5 propositum tenuere. Consulares quoque ac seniores ab residuo tribuniciæ potestatis odio, cuius desiderium plebi multo acrius quam consularis imperii rebantur esse, prope malebant, postmodo ipsos decemviros voluntate abire magistratu, quam invidia eorum exsur-
6 gere rursus plebem; si leniter ducta res sine populari strepitu ad consules redisset, aut bellis interpositis

aut moderatione consulum in imperiis exercendis posse
in oblivionem tribunorum plebem adduci.

Silentio patrum edicitur dilectus. Iuniores, quum 7
sine provocatione imperium esset, ad nomina respon-
dent. Legionibus scriptis, inter se decemviri com-
parabant, quos ire ad bellum, quos præesse exercitibus
oporteret. Principes inter decemviros erant Q. Fa- 8
bius et App. Claudius. Bellum domi maius quam
foris apparebat. Appii violentiam aptiorem rati ad
comprimendos urbanos motus; in Fabio minus in bono
constans quam navum in malitia ingenium esse. Hunc 9
enim virum, egregium olim domi militiæque, decem-
viratus collegæque ita mutaverant, ut Appii quam
sui similis mallet esse. Huic bellum in Sabinis, M'.
Rabuleio et Q. Pœtelio additis collegis, mandatum.
M. Cornelius in Algidum missus cum L. Minucio 10
et T. Antonio et K. Duillio et M. Sergio. Sp.
Oppium App. Claudio adiutorem ad urbem tuendam,
æquo omnium decemvirorum imperio, decernunt.

Nihilo militiæ quam domi melius res publica ad- **42**
ministrata est. Illa modo in ducibus 2
culpa, quod, ut odio essent civibus, fe-
cerant; alia omnis penes milites noxia erat, qui, ne
quid ductu atque auspicio decemvirorum prospere
usquam gereretur, vinci se per suum atque illorum
dedecus patiebantur. Fusi et ab Sabinis ad Eretum 3
et in Algido ab Æquis exercitus erant. Ab Ereto
per silentium noctis profugi propius urbem, inter
Fidenas Crustumeriamque, loco edito castra commu-
nierant; persecutis hostibus, nusquam se æquo certa- 4
mini committentes natura loci ac vallo, non virtute
aut armis tutabantur. Maius flagitium in Algido, 5

Disgraceful defeat of the Romans.

maior etiam clades accepta; castra quoque amissa erant, exutusque omnibus utensilibus miles Tusculum
5 se, fide misericordiaque victurus hospitum, quæ tamen
6 non fefellerunt, contulerat. Romam tanti erant terrores allati, ut, posito iam decemvirali odio, patres vigilias in urbe habendas censerent, omnes, qui per ætatem arma ferre possent, custodire mœnia ac pro portis
7 stationes agere iuberent, arma Tusculum ac supplementum decernerent, decemvirosque ab arce Tusculi degressos in castris militem habere, castra alia a Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri, belloque ultro inferendo deterreri hostes a consilio urbis oppugnandæ.

43 Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda facinora decemviri belli domique adiiciunt.

Two crimes hasten the downfall of the decemvirs: (1) the murder of Siccius,

2 L. Siccium in Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem tribunorum creandorum secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum sermonibus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris
3 capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus, quos miserant expeditionis eius comites, ut eum opportuno
4 adorti loco interficerent. Haud inultum interfecere; nam circa repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidere, quum ipse se prævalidus, pari viribus animo, circum-
5 ventus tutaretur. Nuntiant in castra ceteri, præcipitatum in insidias esse; Siccium egregie pugnantem
6 militesque quosdam cum eo amissos. Primo fides nuntiantibus fuit; profecta deinde cohors ad sepeliendos, qui ceciderant, decemvirorum permissu, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus Sicciumque in medio iacentem armatum, omnibus in eum versis corporibus, videre, hostium neque corpus ullum nec vestigia abeuntium, profecto ab suis interfectum memorantes

rettulere corpus. Invidiæque plena castra erant, et 7 Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat, ni decemviri funus militare ei publica impensa facere maturassent. Sepultus ingenti militum mæstitia, pessima decemvirorum in vulgus fama est.

(2) the abduction of Virginia.

Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, 44 haud minus fœdo eventu, quam quod per stuprum cædemque Lucretiæ urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset. App. Claudium virginis plebeiæ stu- 2 prandæ libido cepit. Pater virginis, L. Verginius, honestum ordinem in Algido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiæque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat 3 liberique instituebantur. Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri et pro causa plebis expertæ virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam, forma excellentem 4 Appius, amore amens, pretio ac spe pellicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore sæpta animadvertit, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit. M. Claudio 5 clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in servitutem assereret neque cederet secundum libertatem postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellæ abesset, locum iniuriæ esse ratus. Virgini venienti in forum (ibi 6 namque in tabernis litterarum ludi erant) minister decemviri libidinis manum iniecit, serva sua natam servamque appellans, sequique se iubebat: cunctantem vi abstracturum. Pavida puella stupente, ad clamorem 7 nutricis fidem Quiritium implorantis fit concursus. Verginii patris sponsique Icilii populare nomen celebratur. Notos gratia eorum, turbam indignitas rei virgini conciliat. Iam a vi tuta erat, quum assertor 8

nihil opus esse multitudine concitata ait; se iure
grassari, non vi. Vocat puellam in ius. Auctoribus,
9 qui aderant, ut sequeretur, ad tribunal Appii perven-
tum est. Notam iudici fabulam petitor, quippe apud
ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit: puellam domi
suæ natam furtoque inde in domum Verginii transla-
10 tam suppositam ei esse; id se indicio compertum affer-
re probaturumque vel ipso Verginio iudice, ad quem
maior pars iniuriæ eius pertineat; interim dominum
11 sequi ancillam æquum esse. Advocati puellæ, quum
Verginium rei publicæ causa dixissent abesse, biduo
affuturum, si nuntiatum ei sit; iniquum esse absentem
12 de liberis dimicare, postulant, ut rem integram in
patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vindicias
det secundum libertatem neu patiatur, virginem adul-
45 tam famæ prius quam libertatis periculum adire. Ap-
pius decreto præfatus, quam libertati faverit, eam
ipsam legem declarare, quam Verginii amici postula-
2 tioni suæ prætendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum liber-
tati fore præsidium, si nec causis nec personis variet.
In iis enim, qui asserantur in libertatem, quia quivis
lege agere possit, id iuris esse; in ea, quæ in patris
manu sit, neminem esse alium, cui dominus posses-
3 sione cedat. Placere itaque, patrem arcessiri, interea
iuris sui iacturam assertorem non facere, quin ducat
puellam sistendamque in adventum eius, qui pater
4 dicatur, promittat. Adversus iniuriam decreti quum
multi magis fremerent, quam quisquam unus recusare
auderet, P. Numitorius, puellæ avus, et sponsus Icilius
5 interveniunt; dataque inter turbam via, quum multi-
tudo Icilii maxime interventu resisti posse Appio
crederet, lictor decresse ait, vociferantemque Icilium

summovet. Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox 6
iniuria accendisset. "Ferro hinc tibi summovendus
sum, Appi," inquit, "ut tacitum feras, quod celari vis.
Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus nuptamque pudicam
habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque lictores 7
convoca; expediri virgas et secures iube; non manebit
extra domum patris sponsa Icilii. Non, si tribunicium 8
auxilium et provocationem plebi Romanæ, duas arces
libertatis tuendæ, ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque
nostros coniugesque regnum vestræ libidini datum est.
Sævite in tergum et in cervices nostras; pudicitia 9
saltem in tuto sit. Huic si vis afferetur, ego præsen-
tium Quiritium pro sponsa, Verginius militum pro
unica filia, omnes deorum hominumque implorabimus
fidem, neque tu istud unquam decretum sine cæde
nostra referes. Postulo, Appi, etiam atque etiam 10
consideres, quo progrediare. Verginius viderit, de 11
filia, ubi venerit, quid agat; hoc tantum sciat, sibi, si
huius vindiciis cesserit, condicionem filiæ quærendam
esse. Me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem vita
citius deseret quam fides." Concitata multitudo erat **46**
certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilium cir-
cumsteterant; nec ultra minas tamen processum est, 2
quum Appius, non Verginiam defendi ab Icilio, sed
inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc spiran-
tem locum seditionis quærere, diceret. Non præbi- 3
turum se illi eo die materiam, sed, ut iam sciret, non
id petulantiæ suæ, sed Verginio absenti et patri no-
mini et libertati datum, ius eo die se non dicturum
neque decretum interpositurum; a M. Claudio peti-
turum, ut decederet iure suo vindicarique puellam in
posterum diem pateretur. Quod nisi pater postero 4

die affuisset, denuntiare se Icilio similibusque Icilii,
neque legi suæ latorem neque decemviro constantiam
defore; nec se utique collegarum lictores convocaturum
ad coercendos seditionis auctores; contentum se suis
lictoribus fore.

5 Quum dilatum tempus iniuriæ esset secessissent-
que advocati puellæ, placuit, omnium primum fratrem
Icilii filiumque Numitorii, impigros iuvenes, pergere
inde recta ad portam, et, quantum accelerari posset,
6 Verginium acciri e castris: in eo verti puellæ salutem,
si postero die vindex iniuriæ ad tempus præsto esset.
Iussi pergunt, citatisque equis nuntium ad patrem
7 perferunt. Quum instaret assertor puellæ, ut vindi-
caret sponsoresque daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret
Icilius, sedulo tempus terens, dum præciperent iter
nuntii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo
et se quisque paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere.
8 Atque ille lacrimabundus "Gratum est" inquit; "cras-
tina die vestra opera utar; sponsorum nunc satis
9 est." Ita vindicatur Verginia spondentibus propin-
quis. Appius paulisper moratus, ne eius rei causa
sedisse videretur, postquam, omissis rebus aliis præ
cura unius, nemo adibat, domum se recepit, collegis-
que in castra scribit, ne Verginio commeatum dent
10 atque etiam in custodia habeant. Improbum con-
silium serum, ut debuit, fuit, et iam, commeatu sumpto,
profectus Verginius prima vigilia erat, quum postero
die mane de retinendo eo nequicquam litteræ red-
duntur.

47 At in urbe prima luce, quum civitas in foro ex-
spectatione erecta staret, Verginius sordidatus filiam
secum obsoleta veste, comitantibus aliquot matronis,

cum ingenti advocatione in forum deducit. Circumire 2 ibi et prensare homines cœpit et non orare solum precariam opem, sed pro debita petere: se pro liberis eorum ac coniugibus quotidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse, cuius strenue ac ferociter facta in bello plura memorari possent; quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quæ capta ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda? Hæc prope contionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his ab Icilio iactabantur. Comitatus 3 muliebris plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox movebat. Adversus quæ omnia obstinato animo Appius (tanta 4 vis amentiæ verius quam amoris mentem turbaverat) in tribunal escendit, et, ultro querente pauca petitore, quod ius sibi pridie per ambitionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret aut Verginio respondendi daretur locus, Appius interfatur. Quem 5 decreto sermonem prætenderit, forsan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint; quia nusquam ullum in tanta fœditate decreti veri similem invenio, id, quod constat, nudum videtur proponendum, decresse vindicias secundum servitutem. Primo stupor omnes 6 admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein, quum M. Claudius, circumstantibus matronis, iret ad prendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio excepisset, Verginius, intentans in Appium manus, "Icilio" in- 7 quit, "Appi, non tibi filiam despondi et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promiscue in concubitus ruere? Passurine hæc isti sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos, qui arma habent." Quum repelleretur assertor virginis 8 a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum,

48 silentium factum per præconem. Decemvir, alienato
ad libidinem animo, negat ex hesterno tantum convicio Icilii violentiaque Verginii, cuius testem populum
Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis compertum se habere, nocte tota cœtus in urbe factos esse
2 ad movendam seditionem. Itaque se, haud inscium
eius dimicationis, cum armatis descendisse, non ut
quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis
3 otium pro maiestate imperii coerceret. "Proinde
quiesse erit melius" inquit. "Lictor, summove turbam et da viam domino ad prendendum mancipium."
Quum hæc intonuisset plenus iræ, multitudo ipsa se
sua sponte dimovit, desertaque præda iniuriæ puella
4 stabat. Tum Verginius, ubi nihil usquam auxilii
vidit, "Quæso" inquit, "Appi, primum ignosce patrio
dolori, si quid inclementius in te sum invectus; deinde
sinas hic coram virgine nutricem percontari, quid hoc
rei sit, ut, si falso pater dictus sum, æquiore hinc
5 animo discedam." Data venia, seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinæ ad tabernas, quibus nunc Novis
est nomen, atque ibi ab lanio cultro arrepto, "Hoc te
uno, quo possum" ait, "modo, filia, in libertatem
vindico." Pectus deinde puellæ transfigit, respectansque ad tribunal "Te" inquit, "Appi, tuumque caput
6 sanguine hoc consecro." Clamore ad tam atrox facinus
orto excitus Appius comprendi Verginium iubet. Ille
ferro, quacunque ibat, viam facere, donec, multitudine
etiam prosequentium tuente, ad portam perrexit.
7 Icilius Numitoriusque exsangue corpus sublatum ostentant populo; scelus Appii, puellæ infelicem formam,
8 necessitatem patris deplorant. Sequentes clamitant
matronæ: Eamne liberorum procreandorum condicio-

nem, ea pudicitiæ præmia esse? cetera, quæ in tali re
muliebris dolor, quo est mæstior imbecillo animo, eo
miserabilia magis querentibus subiicit. Virorum et 9
maxime Icilii vox tota tribuniciæ potestatis ac pro-
vocationis ad populum ereptæ publicarumque indigna-
tionum erat.

Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, 49
partim spe per occasionem repetendæ Uproar in the city.
libertatis. Appius nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retrac- 2
tantem arripi, postremo, quum locus adeundi appari-
toribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine patriciorum
iuvenum per turbam vadens, in vincula duci iubet.
Iam circa Icilium non solum multitudo, sed duces 3
quoque multitudinis erant, L. Valerius et M. Horatius,
qui, repulso lictore, si iure ageret, vindicare se a
privato Icilium aiebant; si vim afferre conaretur, ibi
quoque haud impares fore. Hinc atrox rixa oritur. 4
Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit; fran-
guntur a multitudine fasces. In contionem Appius
escendit; sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque. Eos con-
tio audit; decemviro obstrepitur. Iam pro imperio 5
Valerius discedere a privato lictores iubebat, quum
fractis animis Appius, vitæ metuens, in domum se
propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto
recipit.

Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegæ esset, in forum ex 6
altera parte irrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum.
Agitatus deinde consiliis, ad quæ ex omni parte assen-
tiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat, senatum pos-
tremo vocari iussit. Ea res, quod magnæ parti patrum 7
displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per
senatum finiendæ potestatis eius multitudinem se-

8 davit. Senatus nec plebem irritandam censuit et
multo magis providendum, ne quid Verginii adventus
50 in exercitu motus faceret. Itaque missi iuniores
patrum in castra, quæ tum in monte Vecilio erant,
nuntiant decemviris, ut omni ope ab seditione milites
contineant.

2 Ibi Verginius maiorem, quam reliquerat in urbe,

Verginius returning from the murder of his daughter to the camp on Mt Algidus, rouses the army to revolt against the decemvirs.

motum excivit. Nam præterquam quod
agmine prope quadringentorum homi-
num veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate
3 rei accensi comites ei se dederant, con-
spectus est, strictum etiam telum respersusque ipse
cruore tota in se castra convertit. Et togæ multi-
fariam in castris visæ maioris aliquanto, quam erat,
4 speciem urbanæ multitudinis fecerant. Quærentibus,
quid rei esset, flens diu vocem non misit; tandem, ut
iam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit ac
silentium fuit, ordine cuncta, ut gesta erant, exposuit.
5 Supinas deinde tendens manus, commilitones appellans
orabat, ne, quod scelus App. Claudii esset, sibi attri-
buerent neu se ut parricidam liberum aversarentur.
6 Sibi vitam filiæ sua cariorem fuisse, si liberæ ac
pudicæ vivere licitum fuisset; quum velut servam ad
stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti melius ratum
quam contumelia liberos, misericordia se in speciem
7 crudelitatis lapsum. Nec se superstitem filiæ futurum
fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendæ mortis eius in auxilio
commilitonum habuisset. Illis quoque enim filias,
sorores coniugesque esse, nec cum filia sua libidinem
App. Claudii exstinctam esse, sed quo impunitior sit,
8 eo effrenatiorem fore. Aliena calamitate documentum
datum illis cavendæ similis iniuriæ. Quod ad se

attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam, filiam, quia non
ultra pudica victura fuerit, miseram, sed honestam
mortem occubuisse; non esse iam Appii libidini locum 9
in domo sua; ab alia violentia eius eodem se animo
suum corpus vindicaturum, quo vindicaverit filiæ;
ceteri sibi ac liberis suis consulerent. Hæc Verginio 10
vociferanti succlamabat multitudo, nec illius dolori
nec suæ libertati se defuturos. Et immixti turbæ
militum togati, [quum] eadem illa querendo docendo-
que, quanto visa quam audita indigniora oportuerit
videri, simul profligatam iam rem nuntiando Romæ
esse, insecutique, qui Appium prope interemptum in 11
exsilium abisse dicerent, perpulerunt, ut ad arma con-
clamaretur, vellerentque signa et Romam proficis-
cerentur. Decemviri simul iis, quæ videbant, iisque, 12
quæ acta Romæ audierant, perturbati alius in aliam
partem castrorum ad sedandos motus discurrunt. Sed
leniter agentibus responsum non redditur; imperium
si quis inhiberet, et viros et armatos se esse, respon-
detur. Eunt agmine ad urbem et Aven- 13
tinum insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat,
plebem ad repetendam libertatem cre-
andosque tribunos plebis adhortantes.

The secession to the Aventine—the army appoint ten military tribunes *qui summæ rei præessent.*

Alia vox nulla violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. 14
Oppius habet. Nihil placet aspere agi; quippe ab
ipsis datum locum seditioni esse. Mittuntur tres 15
legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Iulius, P. Sulpicius,
qui quærerent senatus verbis, cuius iussu castra de-
seruissent aut quid sibi vellent, qui armati Aventinum
obsedissent, belloque averso ab hostibus patriam suam
cepissent. Non defuit, quod responderetur; deerat, 16
qui daret responsum, nullodum certo duce nec satis

audentibus singulis invidiæ se offerre. Id modo a
multitudine conclamatum est, ut L. Valerium et M.
Horatium ad se mitterent; iis se daturos responsum.
51 Dimissis legatis, admonet milites Verginius, in re non
maxima paulo ante trepidatum esse, quia sine capite
multitudo fuerit, responsumque, quanquam non inuti-
liter, fortuito tamen magis consensu quam communi
2 consilio esse; placere, decem creari, qui summæ rei
præessent, militarique honore tribunos militum appel-
3 lari. Quum ad eum ipsum primum is honos defer-
retur, "Melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate"
4 inquit "ista de me iudicia. Nec mihi filia inulta
honorem ullum iucundum esse patitur, nec in pertur-
bata re publica eos utile est præesse vobis, qui proximi
5 invidiæ sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilo minor ex
6 privato capietur." Ita decem numero tribunos mili-
tares creant.

7 Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus. Ibi quoque
auctore Icilio Numitorioque secessio ab
decemviris facta est, non minore motu

They are joined by the army from the Sabine territory.

animorum Siccii cædis memoria renovata, quam quem
nova fama de virgine adeo fœde ad libidinem petita
8 accenderat. Icilius ubi audivit, tribunos militum in
Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarium præro-
gativam urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis
9 sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium imminensque
ei potestati, et ipse, priusquam iretur ad urbem, pari
potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat.
10 Porta Collina urbem intravere sub signis, mediaque
urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi coniuncti
alteri exercitui viginti tribunis militum negotium de-
derunt, ut ex suo numero duos crearent, qui summæ

rerum præessent. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant. 11

The decemvirs obstinately refusing to lay down their office, the deadlock continues, until

Patres solliciti de summa rerum, quum senatus quotidie esset, iurgiis sæpius terunt tempus quam consiliis. Siccii cædes decemviris et 12
Appiana libido et dedecora militiæ obiiciebantur. Placebat, Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant, se aliter ituros, quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus eius, quo anno iam ante abissent. Decemviri querentes, se in ordinem cogi, 13
non ante quam perlatis legibus, quarum causa creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant. Per M. 52
Duillium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs, contentionibus assiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, affirmante Duillio, non 2
prius, quam deseri urbem videant, curam in animos patrum descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiæ plebis, sciturosque, qua sine restituta potestate redigi in concordiam res nequeant. Via No- 3
mentana, cui tum Ficulensi nomen fuit, profecti castra in monte Sacro locavere, modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo, 4
qui per ætatem ire posset, retractante. Prosequuntur coniuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in ea urbe, in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset, miserabiliter rogitantes.

Quum vasta Romæ omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, 5
in foro præter paucos seniorum nemo esset, vocatis utique in senatum patribus desertum apparuisset forum, plures iam quam Horatius ac Valerius vociferabantur: "Quid 6
exspectabitis, patres conscripti? Si decemviri finem

the unanimous protest of the Senate, led by Valerius and Horatius, compels them to yield.

pertinaciæ non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia pas-
suri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decem-
viri, quod amplexi tenetis? Tectis ac parietibus iura
7 dicturi estis? Non pudet, lictorum vestrorum maio-
rem prope numerum in foro conspici quam togatorum
aliorum? Quid, si hostes ad urbem veniant, facturi
estis? Quid, si plebs mox, ubi parum secessione movea-
mur, armata veniat? Occasune urbis vultis finire im-
8 perium? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda aut ha-
bendi sunt tribuni plebis. Nos citius caruerimus
9 patriciis magistratibus quam illi plebeiis. Novam in-
expertamque eam potestatem eripuere patribus nostris,
ne nunc dulcedine semel capti ferant desiderium, quum
præsertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minus
10 illi auxilii egeant." Quum hæc ex omni parte iacta-
rentur, victi consensu decemviri, futuros se, quando
11 ita videatur, in potestate patrum, affirmant. Id modo
simul orant ac monent, ut ipsis ab invidia caveatur
nec suo sanguine ad supplicia patrum plebem assue-
faciant.

Mission of Valerius and Horatius to the plebs. Negotiations.

53 Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi ad plebem condi-
cionibus, quibus videretur, revocandam
componendasque res, decemviris quoque
ab ira et impetu multitudinis præcavere
2 iubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis in castra
accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubie et motus
initio et exitu rei. Ob hæc iis advenientibus gratiæ
3 actæ; Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. Idem,
quum de condicionibus ageretur, quærentibus legatis,
quæ postulata plebis essent, composito iam ante ad-
ventum legatorum consilio, ea postulavit, ut appa-
reret, in æquitate rerum plus quam in armis reponi

spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam provocationemque 4
repetebant, quæ ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis
fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset concisse milites aut
plebem ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem.
De decemvirorum modo supplicio atrox postulatum 5
fuit; dedi quippe eos æquum censebant, vivosque igni
concrematuros minabantur. Legati ad ea: "Quæ 6
consilii fuerunt, adeo æqua postulastis, ut ultro vobis
deferenda fuerint; libertati enim ea præsidia petitis,
non licentiæ ad impugnandos alios. Iræ vestræ magis 7
ignoscendum quam indulgendum est, quippe qui cru-
delitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis et prius pæne,
quam ipsi liberi sitis, dominari iam in adversarios
vultis. Nunquamne quiescet civitas nostra a sup- 8
pliciis aut patrum in plebem Romanam aut plebis in
patres? Scuto vobis magis quam gladio opus est.
Satis superque humili est, qui iure æquo in civitate 9
vivit, nec inferendo iniuriam nec patiendo. Etiamsi 10
quando metuendos vos præbituri estis, quum, recupe-
ratis magistratibus legibusque vestris, iudicia penes
vos erunt de capite nostro fortunisque, tunc, ut quæ-
que causa erit, statuetis; nunc libertatem repeti satis
est." Facerent, ut vellent, permittentibus cunctis, mox 54
redituros se legati rebus perfectis affirmant. Profecti 2
quum mandata plebis patribus exposuissent, alii de-
cemviri, quando quidem præter spem ipsorum supplicii
sui nulla mentio fieret, haud quicquam abnuere;
Appius, truci ingenio et invidia præcipua, odium in se 3
aliorum suo in eos metiens odio, "Haud ignaro" in-
quit "imminet fortuna. Video, donec arma adver- 4
sariis tradantur, differri adversus nos certamen. Dan-
dus invidiæ est sanguis. Nihil ne ego quidem moror,

5 quo minus decemviratu abeam." Factum senatus con-
sultum, ut decemviri se primo quoque tempore magis-
tratu abdicarent, Q. Furius pontifex maximus tribunos
plebis crearet, et ne cui fraudi esset secessio militum
plebisque.

The decemvirs abdicate and the old constitution is restored.

6 His senatus consultis perfectis dimisso senatu, de-
cemviri prodeunt in contionem abdicant-
que se magistratu, ingenti hominum læ-
7 titia. Nuntiantur hæc plebi. Legatos,
quicquid in urbe hominum supererat, prosequitur.
Huic multitudini læta alia turba ex castris occurrit.
Congratulantur libertatem concordiamque civitati re-
8 stitutam. Legati pro contione: "Quod bonum, faus-
tum felixque sit vobis reique publicæ, redite in patriam
ad penates, coniuges liberosque vestros; sed, qua hic
modestia fuistis, ubi nullius ager in tot rerum usu ne-
cessario tantæ multitudini est violatus, eam modestiam
9 ferte in urbem. In Aventinum ite, unde profecti
estis; ibi felici loco, ubi prima initia inchoastis liber-
tatis vestræ, tribunos plebi creabitis. Præsto erit
10 pontifex maximus, qui comitia habeat." Ingens as-
sensus alacritasque cuncta approbantium fuit. Con-
vellunt inde signa, profectique Romam certant cum
11 obviis gaudio. Armati per urbem silentio in Aven-
tinum perveniunt. Ibi extemplo, pontifice maximo
comitia habente, tribunos plebis creaverunt, omnium
primum L. Verginium, inde L. Icilium et P. Numi-
12 torium, avunculum Verginii, auctores secessionis, tum
C. Sicinium, progeniem eius, quem primum tribunum
plebis creatum in Sacro monte proditum memoriæ est,
et M. Duillium, qui tribunatum insignem ante decem-
viros creatos gesserat nec in decemviralibus certami-

nibus plebi defuerat. Spe deinde magis quam meritis 13
electi M. Titinius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P.
Villius, C. Oppius. Tribunatu inito, L. Icilius ex- 14
templo plebem rogavit et plebs scivit, ne cui fraudi
esset secessio ab decemviris facta. Confestim de con- 15
sulibus creandis cum provocatione M. Duillius roga-
tionem pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiis con-
cilio plebis acta, quem nunc circum Flaminium ap-
pellant.

Per interregem deinde consules creati L. Valerius, 55
M. Horatius, qui extemplo magistratum occeperunt. Quorum consulatus

L. Valerius and M. Horatius consuls.

popularis sine ulla patrum iniuria nec sine offensione
fuit; quicquid enim libertati plebis caveretur, id suis 2
decedere opibus credebant. Omnium primum, quum 3
velut in controverso iure esset, tenerenturne patres plebiscitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere, ut, quod tributim

Laws passed
(1) That plebiscita are binding on the whole community.

plebes iussisset, populum teneret; qua lege tribuni-
ciis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Aliam 4
deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum
præsidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam,
non restituunt modo, sed etiam in posterum muniunt
sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum magistratum 5
sine provocatione crearet; qui creasset, eum ius fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur. Et 6

(2) That it shall be a capital crime henceforth to appoint magistrates *sine provocatione.*

quum plebem hinc provocatione, hinc tribunicio
auxilio satis firmassent, ipsis quoque tribunis, ut
sacrosancti viderentur, cuius rei prope iam memoria
aboleverat, relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo cæ-
rimoniis renovarunt, et quum religione inviolatos eos, 7

(3) That tribunes and other plebeian magistrates are sacrosanct.

tum lege etiam fecerunt, sanciendo, ut,
qui tribunis plebis, ædilibus, iudicibus,
decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi
sacrum esset, familia ad ædem Cereris, Liberi Libe-
8 ræque venum iret. Hac lege iuris interpretes negant
quemquam sacrosanctum esse, sed, quum quis eorum
9 cuipiam nocuerit, id sacrum sanciri; itaque ædilem
prendi ducique a maioribus magistratibus, quod etsi
non iure fiat (noceri enim ei, cui hac lege non liceat),
tamen argumentum esse, non haberi pro sacrosancto
10 ædilem; tribunos vetere iure iurando plebis, quum
primum eam potestatem creavit, sacrosanctos esse.
11 Fuere, qui interpretarentur, eadem hac Horatia lege
consulibus quoque et prætoribus, quia eisdem auspi-
ciis, quibus consules, crearentur, cautum esse: iudi-
12 cem enim consulem appellari. Quæ refellitur inter-
pretatio, quod iis temporibus nondum consulem
13 iudicem, sed prætorem appellari mos fuerit. Hæ
consulares leges fuere. Institutum etiam ab iisdem

These consuls institute the custom of depositing all *Senatus consulta* in the temple of Ceres, under the custody of the plebeian aediles. A plebiscitum is passed making it capital to leave the state without tribunes or to elect magistrates *sine provocatione*.

consulibus, ut senatus consulta in ædem
Cereris ad ædiles plebis deferrentur,
quæ antea arbitrio consulum suppri-
14 mebantur vitiabanturque. M. Duillius
deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit
plebesque scivit, qui plebem sine tribu-
nis reliquisset, quique magistratum sine
provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur.

15 Hæc omnia ut invitis, ita non adversantibus
patriciis transacta, quia nondum in quemquam unum
56 sæviebatur. Fundata deinde et potestate tribunicia

Attack upon Appius by Verginius, who offers him

et plebis libertate, tum tribuni aggredi
singulos tutum maturumque iam rati,

accusatorem primum Verginium et Appium reum deligunt. 2 Quum diem Appio Verginius dixisset, et Appius stipatus patriciis iuvenibus in forum descendisset, redintegrata extemplo est omnibus memoria fœdissimæ potestatis, quum ipsum satellitesque eius vidissent. Tum Ver- 3
ginius "Oratio" inquit "rebus dubiis inventa est; itaque neque ego accusando apud vos eum tempus teram, a cuius crudelitate vosmet ipsi armis vindicastis, nec istum ad cetera scelera impudentiam in defendendo se adiicere patiar. Omnium igitur tibi, 4
Appi Claudi, quæ impie nefarieque per biennium alia super alia es ausus, gratiam facio. Unius tantum criminis nisi iudicem dices, te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindicias non dedisse, in vincla te duci iubebo." Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius nec 5
in iudicio populi ullam spem habebat; tamen et tribunos appellavit et, nullo morante arreptus a viatore, "Provoco" inquit. Au- 6
dita vox una vindex libertatis, ex eo missa ore, quo vindiciæ nuper ab libertate dictæ erant, silentium fecit. Et dum pro se quisque, deos tandem esse et 7
non negligere humana, fremunt, et superbiæ crudelitatique etsi seras, non leves tamen venire pœnas: provocare, qui provocationem sustulisset, et implorare 8
præsidium populi, qui omnia iura populi obtrisset, rapique in vincla egentem iure libertatis, qui liberum corpus in servitutem addixisset, ipsius Appii inter contionis murmur fidem populi Romani implorantis vox audiebatur. Maiorum merita in rem publicam 9
domi militiæque commemorabat, suum infelix erga plebem Romanam studium, quo æquandarum legum

the choice between standing his trial and being at once cast into prison.

Appius claims the right to appeal;

causa cum maxima offensione patrum consulatu
abisset, suas leges, quibus manentibus lator earum in
10 vincula ducatur. Ceterum sua propria bona malaque,
quum causæ dicendæ data facultas sit, tum se expertu-
rum; in præsentia se communi iure civitatis civem
Romanum die dicta postulare, ut dicere liceat, ut
11 iudicium populi Romani experiri. Non ita se invi-
diam pertimuisse, ut nihil in æquitate et misericordia
civium suorum spei habeat. Quod si indicta causa in
vincula ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei appellare
12 et monere, ne imitentur, quos oderint. Quod si
tribuni eodem fœdere obligatos se fateantur tollendæ
appellationis, in quod conspirasse decemviros criminati
sint, at se provocare ad populum, implorare leges de
provocatione et consulares et tribunicias, eo ipso anno
13 latas. Quem enim provocaturum, si hoc indemnato,
indicta causa, non liceat? Cui plebeio et humili
præsidium in legibus fore, si App. Claudio non sit?
Se documento futurum, utrum novis legibus dominatio
an libertas firmata sit, et appellatio provocatioque
adversus iniuriam magistratuum ostentata tantum ina-
57 nibus litteris an vere data sit. Contra ea Verginius
unum App. Claudium et legum exper-
tem et civilis et humani fœderis esse
2 aiebat. Respicerent tribunal homines,
castellum omnium scelerum, ubi decemvir ille per-
petuus, bonis, tergo, sanguini civium infestus, virgas
securesque omnibus minitans, deorum hominumque
3 contemptor, carnificibus, non lictoribus stipatus, iam
ab rapinis et cædibus animo ad libidinem verso, virgi-
nem ingenuam in oculis populi Romani, velut bello
captam, ab complexu patris abreptam ministro cubiculi

which Verginius, with the approval of the people, refuses to allow.

sui clienti dono dederit; ubi crudeli decreto nefandis- 4
que vindiciis dextram patris in filiam armaverit; ubi
tollentes corpus semianime virginis sponsum avumque
in carcerem duci iusserit, stupro interpellato magis
quam cæde motus. Et illi carcerem ædificatum esse,
quod domicilium plebis Romanæ vocare sit solitus.
Proinde, ut ille iterum ac sæpius provocet, sic se 5
iterum ac sæpius iudicem illi ferre, ni vindicias ab
libertate in servitutem dederit; si ad iudicem non eat,
pro damnato in vincula duci iubere. Ut haud quo- 6
quam improbante, sic magno motu animorum, quum
tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi iam nimia libertas
videretur, in carcerem est coniectus; tribunus ei diem
prodixit.

Inter hæc ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum 7
de concordia patrum ac plebis Romam
venerunt, donumque ob eam Iovi opti-
mo maximo coronam auream in Capito-
lium tulere parvi ponderis, prout res
haud opulentæ erant colebanturque re-
ligiones pie magis quam magnifice. Iis- 8
dem auctoribus cognitum est, Æquos
Volscosque summa vi bellum apparare.

Congratulatory embassy from the Latins and Hernici, with an offering of a golden crown to Jupiter Optimus Maximus: these ambassadors reporting hostile movements among the Aequi and Volsci, an army is levied and their spheres assigned to the consuls.

Itaque partiri provincias consules iussi. Horatio 9
Sabini, Valerio Æqui evenere. Quum ad ea bella
dilectum edixissent, favore plebis non iuniores modo,
sed emeritis etiam stipendiis pars magna voluntario-
rum ad nomina danda præsto fuere, eoque non copia
modo, sed genere etiam militum, veteranis admixtis,
firmior exercitus fuit. Priusquam urbe egrederentur, 10
leges decemvirales, quibus tabulis duodecim est nomen,
in æs incisas in publico proposuerunt. Sunt, qui

iussu tribunorum ædiles functos eo ministerio scribant.

C. Claudius endeavours in vain to procure the release of his nephew Appius, who commits suicide.

58 C. Claudius, qui perosus decemvirorum scelera et ante omnes fratris filii superbiæ infestus Regillum, antiquam in patriam, se contulerat, is magno iam natu quúm ad pericula eius deprecanda redisset, cuius vitia fugerat, sordidatus cum gentilibus clientibusque
2 in foro prensabat singulos orabatque, ne Claudiæ genti eam inustam maculam vellent, ut carcere et vinculis viderentur digni. Virum honoratissimæ imaginis futurum ad posteros, legum latorem conditoremque Romani iuris, iacere vinctum inter fures nocturnos ac
3 latrones. Averterent ab ira parumper ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos, et potius unum tot Claudiis deprecantibus condonarent, quam propter unius odium
4 multorum preces aspernarentur. Se quoque id generi ac nomini dare nec cum eo in gratiam redisse, cuius adversæ fortunæ velit succursum. Virtute libertatem recuperatam esse; clementia concordiam ordinum stabi-
5 liri posse. Erant, quos moveret sua magis pietate quam eius, pro quo agebat, causa; sed Verginius, sui potius ut misererentur, orabat, filiæque, nec gentis Claudiæ, regnum in plebem sortitæ, sed necessariorum Verginiæ, trium tribunorum, preces audirent, qui, ad auxilium plebis creati, ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium
6 implorarent. Iustiores hæ lacrimæ videbantur. Itaque spe incisa, priusquam prodicta dies adesset, Appius mortem sibi conscivit.

Oppius is arrested, as accomplice of Appius, and also

7 Subinde arreptus a P. Numitorio Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiæ, quod in urbe fuerat, quum iniustæ vindiciæ a collega diceren-

tur. Plus tamen facta iniuria Oppio quam non prohibita invidiæ fecit. Testis productus, qui, septem et viginti enumeratis stipendiis, octies extra ordinem donatus donaque ea gerens in conspectu populi, scissa veste, tergum laceratum virgis ostendit, nihilum deprecans, quin, si quam suam noxam reus dicere posset, 8

commits suicide. The property of Appius Claudius and Oppius is confiscated. M. Claudius (c. 44. 5) is banished.

privatus iterum in se sæviret. Oppius quoque ductus 9
in vincula est, et ante iudicii diem finem ibi vitæ fecit. Bona Claudii Oppiique tribuni publicavere. Collegæ eorum exsilii causa solum verterunt; bona publicata
sunt. Et M. Claudius, assertor Verginiæ, die dicta 10
damnatus, ipso remittente Verginio ultimam pœnam,
dimissus Tibur exsulatum abiit, manesque Verginiæ, 11
mortuæ quam vivæ felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas pœnas vagati, nullo relicto sonte, tandem quieverunt.

Ingens metus incesserat patres, vultusque iam 59
iidem tribunorum erant, qui decemvirorum fuerant, quum M. Duillius tribunus plebis, inhibito salubriter modo

Further prosecutions prevented by the wise moderation of the tribune Duillius.

nimiæ potestati, "Et libertatis" inquit "nostræ et 2
pœnarum ex inimicis satis est; itaque hoc anno nec diem dici cuiquam nec in vincla duci quemquam sum
passurus. Nam neque vetera peccata repeti iam 3
oblitterata placet, quum nova expiata sint decemvirorum suppliciis, et nihil admissum iri, quod vim tribuniciam desideret, spondet perpetua consulum amborum
in libertate vestra tuenda cura." Ea primum mode- 4
ratio tribuni metum patribus dempsit, eademque auxit consulum invidiam, quod adeo toti plebis fuissent, ut patrum salutis libertatisque prior plebeio magistratui

quam patricio cura fuisset, et ante inimicos satietas pœnarum suarum cepisset, quam obviam ituros licen-
5 tiæ eorum consules appareret. Multique erant, qui mollius consultum dicerent, quod legum ab iis latarum patres auctores fuissent; neque erat dubium, quin turbato rei publicæ statu tempori succubuissent.

60 Consules, rebus urbanis compositis fundatoque plebis statu, in provincias diversi abiere. Valerius adversus coniunctos iam in Algido exercitus Æquorum Volscorumque

War with Aequi and Volsci and Sabines. Signal defeat of the former by Valerius.

2 sustinuit consilio bellum; quod si extemplo rem fortunæ commisisset, haud scio an, qui tum animi ab decemvirorum infelicibus auspiciis Romanis hostibusque erant, magno detrimento certamen staturum
3 fuerit. Castris mille passuum ab hoste positis copias continebat. Hostes medium inter bina castra spatium acie instructa complebant, provocantibusque ad prœ-
4 lium responsum Romanus nemo reddebat. Tandem fatigati stando ac nequiequam exspectando certamen Æqui Volscique, postquam concessum propemodum de victoria credebant, pars in Hernicos, pars in Latinos prædatum abeunt; relinquitur magis castris præsidium
5 quam satis virium ad certamen. Quod ubi consul sensit, reddit illatum antea terrorem, instructaque
6 acie ultro hostem lacessit. Ubi illi conscientia, quid abesset virium, detrectavere pugnam, crevit extemplo Romanis animus, et pro victis habebant paventes
7 intra vallum. Quum per totum diem stetissent intenti ad certamen, nocti cessere. Et Romani quidem pleni spei corpora curabant; haudquaquam pari hostes animo nuntios passim trepidi ad revocandos prædatores dimittunt. Recurritur ex proximis locis; ulteriores

non inventi. Ubi illuxit, egreditur castris Romanus, 8
vallum invasurus, ni copia pugnæ fieret. Et post-
quam multa iam dies erat neque movebatur quicquam
ab hoste, iubet signa inferri consul; motaque acie,
indignatio Æquos et Volscos incessit, si victores exer-
citus vallum potius quam virtus et arma tegerent.
Igitur et ipsi efflagitatum ab ducibus signum pugnæ
accepere. Iamque pars egressa portis erat deincepsque 9
alii servabant ordinem, in suum quisque locum descen-
dentes, quum consul Romanus, priusquam totis viribus
fulta constaret hostium acies, intulit signa; adortus- 10
que nec omnes dum eductos nec, qui erant, satis expli-
catis ordinibus, prope fluctuantem turbam trepidantium
huc atque illuc circumspectantiumque se ac suos,
addito turbatis mentibus clamore atque impetu, invadit.
Rettulere primo pedem hostes; deinde quum animos 11
collegissent et undique duces, victisne cessuri essent,
increparent, restituitur pugna. Consul ex altera parte 61
Romanos meminisse iubebat, illo die primum liberos
pro libera urbe Romana pugnare: sibimet ipsis victu-
ros, non ut decemvirorum victores præmium essent.
Non Appio duce rem geri, sed consule Valerio, ab 2
liberatoribus populi Romani orto, liberatore ipso.
Ostenderent, prioribus prœliis per duces, non per
milites stetisse, ne vincerent. Turpe esse contra cives 3
plus animi habuisse quam contra hostes et domi quam
foris servitutem magis timuisse. Unam Verginiam 4
fuisse, cuius pudicitiæ in pace periculum esset, unum
Appium civem periculosæ libidinis; at, si fortuna
belli inclinet, omnium liberis ab tot millibus hostium pe-
riculum fore; nolle ominari, quæ nec Iuppiter nec Mars 5
pater passuri sint iis auspiciis conditæ urbi accidere.

Aventini Sacrique montis admonebat, ut, ubi libertas
6 parta esset paucis ante mensibus, eo imperium illibatum referrent, ostenderentque, eandem indolem militibus Romanis post exactos decemviros esse, quæ ante creatos fuerit, nec æquatis legibus imminutam virtu-
7 tem populi Romani esse. Hæc ubi inter signa peditum dicta dedit, advolat deinde ad equites. "Agite, iuvenes" inquit, "præstate virtute peditem, ut honore
8 atque ordine præstatis. Primo concursu pedes movit hostem; pulsum vos immissis equis exigite e campo. Non sustinebunt impetum, et nunc cunctantur magis
9 quam resistunt." Concitant equos permittuntque in hostem pedestri iam turbatum pugna, et perruptis ordinibus, elati ad novissimam aciem, pars libero spatio circumvecti, iam fugam undique capessentes plerosque a castris avertunt praeterequitantesque ab-
10 sterrent. Peditum acies et consul ipse visque omnis belli fertur in castra, captisque cum ingenti cæde, maiore præda potitur.

Defeat of Sabines by Horatius.

11 Huius pugnæ fama perlata non in urbem modo, sed in Sabinos ad alterum exercitum, in urbe lætitia modo celebrata est, in castris
12 animos militum ad æmulandum decus accendit. Iam Horatius eos excursionibus prœliisque levibus experiundo assuefecerat sibi potius fidere quam meminisse ignominiæ decemvirorum ductu acceptæ, parvaque
13 certamina in summam totius profecerant spei. Nec cessabant Sabini, feroces ab re priore anno bene gesta, lacessere atque instare, rogitantes, quid latrocinii modo procursantes pauci recurrentesque tererent tempus et in multa prœlia parvaque carperent summam unius belli?
14 Quin illi congrederentur acie inclinandamque semel

fortunæ rem darent? Ad id, quod sua sponte satis col- 62
lectum animorum erat, indignitate etiam Romani ac-
cendebantur: iam alterum exercitum victorem in urbem
rediturum; sibi ultro per contumelias hostem insul-
tare; quando autem se, si tum non sint, pares hostibus
fore? Ubi hæc fremere militem in castris consul sensit, 2
contione advocata, "Quemadmodum" inquit "in Algido
res gesta sit, arbitror vos, milites, audisse. Qualem
liberi populi exercitum decuit esse, talis fuit; consilio
collegæ, virtute militum victoria parta est. Quod ad 3
me attinet, id consilii animique habiturus sum, quod vos
mihi feceritis. Et trahi bellum salubriter et mature
perfici potest. Si trahendum est, ego, ut in dies spes 4
virtusque vestra crescat, eadem, qua institui, disciplina
efficiam; si iam satis animi est decernique placet,
agite dum, clamorem, qualem in acie sublaturi estis,
tollite hic indicem voluntatis virtutisque vestræ." Post- 5
quam ingenti alacritate clamor est sublatus, quod bene
vertat, gesturum se illis morem posteroque die in aciem
deducturum affirmat. Reliquum diei apparandis armis
consumptum est. Postero die simul instrui Romanam 6
aciem Sabini videre, et ipsi, iam pridem avidi certaminis,
procedunt. Prœlium fuit, quale inter fidentes sibimet
ambo exercitus, veteris perpetuæque alterum gloriæ,
alterum nuper nova victoria elatum. Consilio etiam 7
Sabini vires adiuvere; nam quum æquassent aciem, duo
extra ordinem millia, quæ in sinistrum cornu Romano-
rum in ipso certamine impressionem facerent, tenuere.
Quæ ubi, illatis ex transverso signis, degravabant prope 8
circumventum cornu, equites duarum legionum, sex-
centi fere, ex equis desiliunt cedentibusque iam suis,
provolant in primum, simulque et hosti se opponunt

et æquato primum periculo, pudore deinde animos
9 peditum accendunt. Verecundiæ erat, equitem suo
alienoque Marte pugnare, peditem ne ad pedes quidem
63 degresso equiti parem esse. Vadunt igitur in prœlium
ab sua parte omissum et locum, ex quo cesserant,
repetunt; momentoque non restituta modo pugna, sed
2 inclinatur etiam Sabinis cornu. Eques inter ordines
peditum tectus se ad equos recipit; transvolat inde in
partem alteram suis victoriæ nuntius; simul et in
hostes iam pavidos, quippe fuso suæ partis validiore
cornu, impetum facit. Non aliorum eo prœlio virtus
3 magis enituit. Consul providere omnia, laudare fortes,
increpare, sicubi segnior pugna esset. Castigati for-
tium statim virorum operam edebant, tantumque hos
4 pudor, quantum alios laudes excitabant. Redintegrato
clamore undique omnes connisi hostem avertunt, nec
deinde Romana vis sustineri potuit. Sabini fusi pas-
sim per agros castra hosti ad prædam relinquunt. Ibi
non sociorum, sicut in Algido, res, sed suas Romanus,
populationibus agrorum amissas, recipit.

The Senate refusing a triumph to the consuls, it is granted to them by the comitia, on the motion of the tribune Icilius; the first instance of a triumph granted by the people.

5 Gemina victoria duobus bifariam prœliis parta,
maligne senatus in unum diem supplica-
tiones consulum nomine decrevit. Popu-
lus iniussu et altero die frequens iit
supplicatum; et hæc vaga popularisque
supplicatio studiis prope celebratior fuit.
6 Consules ex composito eodem biduo ad
urbem accessere senatumque in [Martium] campum
evocavere. Ubi quum de rebus ab se gestis agerent,
questi primores patrum, senatum inter milites dedita
7 opera terroris causa haberi. Itaque inde consules, ne
criminationi locus esset, in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc

ædes Apollinis est (iam tum Apollinare appellabant), avocavere senatum. Ubi quum ingenti consensu pa- 8
trum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilius tribunus plebis tulit ad populum de triumpho consulum, multis dissuasum prodeuntibus, maxime C. Claudio vociferante, de patribus, non de hostibus consules triumphare velle, 9
gratiamque pro privato merito in tribunum, non pro virtute honorem peti. Nunquam ante de triumpho per populum actum; semper æstimationem arbitriumque eius honoris penes senatum fuisse; ne reges quidem 10
maiestatem summi ordinis imminuisse. Ne ita omnia tribuni potestatis suæ implerent, ut nullum publicum consilium sinerent esse. Ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita æquatas leges, si sua quisque iura ordo, suam maiestatem teneat. In eandem sententiam multa et 11
a ceteris senioribus patrum quum essent dicta, omnes tribus eam rogationem acceperunt. Tum primum sine auctoritate senatus populi iussu triumphatum est.

A conspiracy of the tribunes to procure their re-election frustrated by Duillius. Owing to the influence of the retiring tribunes only five new ones are elected, who are instructed, in accordance with the old formula of tribunician election, to co-optate five more.

Hæc victoria tribunorum plebisque prope in haud 64
salubrem luxuriam vertit, conspiratione inter tribunos facta, ut iidem tribuni reficerentur, et, quo sua minus cupiditas emineret, consulibusquoque continuarent magistratum. Consensum patrum causa- 2
bantur, quo per contumeliam consulum iura plebis labefacta essent. Quid futu- 3
rum nondum firmatis legibus, si novos tribunos per factionis suæ consules adorti essent? non enim semper Valerios Horatiosque consules fore, qui libertati plebis suas opes postferrent. Forte quadam 4
utili ad tempus, ut comitiis præesset, potissimum M. Duillio sorte evenit, viro prudenti ex continuatione

5 magistratus invidiam imminentem cernenti. Qui quum
ex veteribus tribunis negaret ullius se rationem habi-
turum, pugnarentque collegæ, ut liberas tribus in
suffragium mitteret aut concederet sortem comitiorum
collegis, habituris e lege potius comitia quam ex
6 voluntate patrum, iniecta contentione, Duillius, con-
sules ad subsellia accitos quum interrogasset, quid de
comitiis consularibus in animo haberent, respondis-
sentque, se novos consules creaturos, auctores popu-
lares sententiæ haud popularis nactus in contionem
7 cum iis processit. Ubi quum consules producti ad
populum interrogatique, si eos populus Romanus, me-
mor libertatis per illos receptæ domi, memor militiæ
rerumque gestarum, consules iterum faceret, quidnam
8 facturi essent, nihil sententiæ suæ mutassent, collau-
datis consulibus, quod perseverarent ad ultimum
dissimiles decemvirorum esse, comitia habuit; et quin-
que tribunis plebi creatis, quum præ studiis aperte
petentium novem tribunorum alii candidati tribus non
explerent, concilium dimisit, nec deinde comitiorum
9 causa habuit. Satisfactum legi aiebat, quæ, numero
nusquam præfinito, tribuni modo ut relinquerentur,
sanciret et ab iis, qui creati essent, cooptari collegas
10 iuberet; recitabatque rogationis carmen, in quo esset:
"Tribunos plebei decem rogabo; si qui vos minus
hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis, tum ut ii, quos
hi sibi collegas cooptassint, legitimi eadem lege tribuni
plebei sint ut illi, quos hodie tribunos plebei feceritis."
11 Duillius quum ad ultimum perseverasset, negando
quindecim tribunos plebei rem publicam habere posse
victa collegarum cupiditate, pariter patribus plebeique
acceptus magistratu abiit.

Novi tribuni plebis in cooptandis collegis patrum 65
voluntatem foverunt; duos etiam patricios consulares-
que, Sp. Tarpeium et A. Aternium, cooptavere. Con- 2
sules creati Sp. Herminius, T. Verginius Cælimon-
tanus, nihil magnopere ad patrum aut plebis causam
inclinati, otium domi ac foris habuere. L. Trebonius 3
tribunus plebis, infestus patribus, quod se ab iis in
cooptandis tribunis fraude captum proditumque a col-
legis aiebat, rogationem tulit, ut, qui plebem Romanam 4
tribunos plebi rogaret, is usque eo rogaret, dum decem
tribunos plebi faceret; insectandisque patribus, unde
Aspero etiam inditum est cognomen, tribunatum
gessit.

Uneasy relations between tribunes and patricians, without actual disturbances.

Inde M. Geganius Macerinus et C. Iulius consules 5
facti contentiones tribunorum adversus
nobilium iuventutem ortas, sine insecta-
tione potestatis eius conservata maies-
tate patrum, sedavere. Plebem, decreto ad bellum 6
Volscorum et Æquorum dilectu, sustinendo rem ab
seditionibus continuere, urbano otio foris quoque omnia
tranquilla esse affirmantes, per discordias civiles ex-
ternos tollere animos. Cura pacis concordiæ quoque 7
intestinæ causa fuit. Sed alter semper ordo gravis
alterius modestiæ erat; quiescenti plebi ab iunioribus
patrum iniuriæ fieri cœptæ. Ubi tribuni auxilio hu- 8
milioribus essent, in primis parum proderat; deinde
ne ipsi quidem inviolati erant, utique postremis men-
sibus, quum et per coitiones potentiorum iniuria fieret
et vis potestatis omnis aliquanto posteriore anni parte
languidior ferme esset. Iamque plebs ita in tribunatu 9
ponere aliquid spei, si similes Icilio tribunos haberet:
nomina tantum se biennio habuisse. Seniores contra 10

patrum ut nimis feroces suos credere iuvenes esse, ita
malle, si modus excedendus esset, suis quam adversariis
11 superesse animos. Adeo moderatio tuendæ libertatis, dum æquari velle simulando ita se quisque extollit, ut deprimat alium, in difficili est, cavendoque, ne metuant, homines metuendos ultro se efficiunt, et iniuriam ab nobis repulsam, tanquam aut facere aut pati necesse sit, iniungimus aliis.

Outbreak of civil discord. War with Volsci and Æqui.

66 T. Quinctius Capitolinus quartum et Agrippa
Furius consules inde facti nec seditionem domi nec foris bellum accepe-
2 runt; sed imminebat utrumque. Iam non ultra discordia civium reprimi poterat, et tribunis et plebe incitata in patres, quum dies alicui nobilium dicta novis
3 semper certaminibus contiones turbaret. Ad quarum primum strepitum, velut signo accepto, arma cepere Æqui ac Volsci, simul quod persuaserant iis duces, cupidi prædarum, biennio ante dilectum indictum haberi non potuisse, abnuente iam plebe imperium:
4 eo adversus se non esse missos exercitus. Dissolvi licentia militandi morem, nec pro communi iam patria Romam esse. Quicquid irarum simultatiumque cum externis fuerit, in ipsos verti. Occæcatos lupos intes-
5 tina rabie opprimendi occasionem esse. Coniunctis exercitibus Latinum primum agrum perpopulati sunt; deinde postquam ibi nemo vindex occurrebat, tum vero, exsultantibus belli auctoribus, ad mœnia ipsa Romæ populabundi regione portæ Esquilinæ accessere, vastationem agrorum per contumeliam urbi osten-
6 tantes. Unde postquam inulti, prædam præ se agentes, retro ad Corbionem agmine iere, Quinctius
67 consul ad contionem populum vocavit. Ibi in hanc

Speech of the consul Quinctius to the people.

sententiam locutum accipio: "Etsi mihi nullius
noxæ conscius, Quirites, sum, tamen
cum pudore summo in contionem ves-
tram processi. Hoc vos scire, hoc posteris memoriæ
traditum iri, Æquos et Volscos, vix Hernicis modo
pares, T. Quinctio quartum consule ad mœnia urbis
Romæ impune armatos venisse! Hanc ego igno- 2
miniam, quanquam iam diu ita vivitur, is status rerum
est, ut nihil boni divinet animus, si huic potissimum
imminere anno scissem, vel exsilio vel morte, si alia
fuga honoris non esset, vitassem. Ergo si viri arma 3
illa habuissent, quæ in portis fuere nostris, capi Roma
me consule potuit? Satis honorum, satis superque
vitæ erat; mori consulem tertium oportuit. Quem 4
tandem ignavissimi hostium contempsere? nos con-
sules an vos Quirites? Si culpa in nobis est, auferte
imperium indignis et, si id parum est, insuper pœnas
expetite; si in vobis, nemo deorum nec hominum sit, 5
qui vestra puniat peccata, Quirites; vosmet tantum
eorum pæniteat. Non illi vestram ignaviam con-
tempsere nec suæ virtuti confisi sunt; quippe toties
fusi fugatique, castris exuti, agro multati, sub iugum
missi et se et vos novere; discordia ordinum et vene- 6
num huius urbis, patrum ac plebis certamina, dum nec
nobis imperii nec vobis libertatis est modus, dum
tædet vos patriciorum, nos plebeiorum magistratuum,
sustulere illis animos. Pro deum fidem, quid vobis 7
vultis? Tribunos plebis concupistis; concordiæ causa
concessimus. Decemviros desiderastis; creari passi
sumus. Decemvirorum vos pertæsum est; coegimus
abire magistratu. Manente in eosdem privatos ira 8
vestra, mori atque exsulare nobilissimos viros hono-

9 ratissimosque passi sumus. Tribunos plebis creare
iterum voluistis; creastis. Consules facere vestrarum
partium; etsi patribus videbamus iniquos, patricium
quoque magistratum plebi donum fieri vidimus.
Auxilium tribunicium, provocationem ad populum,
scita plebis iniuncta patribus, sub titulo æquandarum
10 legum nostra iura oppressa tulimus et ferimus. Qui
finis erit discordiarum? ecquando unam urbem habere,
ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit? Victi
nos æquiore animo quiescimus quam vos victores. Sa-
11 tisne est, nobis vos metuendos esse? Adversus nos
Aventinum capitur, adversus nos Sacer occupatur
mons. Esquilias vidimus ab hoste prope captas et
scandentem in aggerem Volscum. Hostem nemo
68 summovit; in nos viri, in nos armati estis. Agite
dum, ubi hic curiam circumsederitis et forum infestum
2 feceritis et carcerem impleveritis principibus, iisdem
istis ferocibus animis egredimini extra portam Esqui-
linam, aut, si ne hoc quidem audetis, ex muris visite
agros vestros ferro ignique vastatos, prædam abigi,
3 fumare incensa passim tecta. At enim communis res
per hæc loco est peiore; ager uritur, urbs obsidetur,
belli gloria penes hostes est. Quid tandem? privatæ
res vestræ in quo statu sunt? Iam unicuique ex agris
4 sua damna nuntiabuntur. Quid est tandem domi,
unde ea expleatis? Tribuni vobis amissa reddent ac
restituent? Vocis verborumque, quantum voletis, in-
gerent, et criminum in principes et legum aliarum
super alias et contionum; sed ex illis contionibus nun-
quam vestrum quisquam re, fortuna domum auctior
5 rediit. Ecquis rettulit aliquid ad coniugem ac liberos
præter odia, offensiones, simultates publicas privatas-

que, a quibus semper non vestra virtute innocentiaque,
sed auxilio alieno tuti sitis? At hercules, quum sti- 6
pendia nobis consulibus, non tribunis ducibus et in
castris, non in foro faciebatis et in acie vestrum cla-
morem hostes, non in contione patres Romani horre-
bant, præda parta, agro ex hoste capto, pleni fortuna-
rum gloriæque simul publicæ, simul privatæ, trium-
phantes domum ad penates redibatis; nunc oneratum
vestris fortunis hostem abire sinitis. Hærete affixi 7
contionibus et in foro vivite; sequetur vos necessitas
militandi, quam fugitis. Grave erat in Æquos et
Volscos proficisci; ante portas est bellum; si inde
non pellitur, iam intra mœnia erit et arcem et Capito-
lium scandet et in domos vestras vos persequetur.
Biennio ante senatus dilectum haberi et educi exer- 8
citum in Algidum iussit; sedemus desides domi, mu-
lierum ritu inter nos altercantes, præsenti pace læti
nec cernentes, ex otio illo brevi multiplex bellum redi-
turum. His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio; sed me 9
vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meum ingenium non mone-
ret, necessitas cogit. Vellem equidem vobis placere
Quirites; sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicunque
erga me animo futuri estis. Natura hoc ita compa- 10
ratum est, ut, qui apud multitudinem sua causa lo-
quitur, gratior eo sit, cuius mens nihil præter publicum
commodum videt; nisi forte assentatores publicos,
plebicolas istos, qui vos nec in armis nec in otio esse
sinunt, vestra vos causa incitare et stimulare putatis.
Concitati aut honori aut quæstui illis estis; et quia in 11
concordia ordinum nullos se usquam esse vident, malæ
rei se quam nullius, turbarum ac seditionum duces
esse volunt. Quarum rerum si vos tædium tandem 12

capere potest et patrum vestrosque antiquos mores
13 vultis pro his novis sumere, nulla supplicia recuso,
nisi paucis diebus hos populatores agrorum nostrorum
fusos fugatosque castris exuero et a portis nostris
mœnibusque ad illorum urbes hunc belli terrorem,
quo nunc vos attoniti estis, transtulero."

Its salutary effect. The levy is held *omnium consensu.*

69 Raro alias tribuni popularis oratio acceptior plebi
2 quam tunc severissimi consulis fuit. Iuventus quoque, quæ inter tales metus
detrectationem militiæ telum acerrimum
adversus patres habere solita erat, arma et bellum
spectabat. Et agrestium fuga spoliatique in agris et
vulnerati, fœdiora iis, quæ subiiciebantur oculis, nun-
3 tiantes, totam urbem ira implevere. In senatum ubi
ventum est, ibi vero in Quinctium omnes versi ut
unum vindicem maiestatis Romanæ intueri, et pri-
mores patrum dignam dicere contionem imperio consu-
lari, dignam tot consulatibus ante actis, dignam vita
omni, plena honorum sæpe gestorum, sæpius merito-
4 rum. Alios consules aut per proditionem dignitatis
patrum plebi adulatos aut acerbe tuendo iura ordinis
asperiorem domando multitudinem fecisse; T. Quinc-
tium orationem memorem maiestatis patrum concor-
diæque ordinum et temporum in primis habuisse.
5 Orare eum collegamque, ut capesserent rem publicam;
orare tribunos, ut uno animo cum consulibus bellum
ab urbe ac mœnibus propulsari vellent plebemque obe-
dientem in re tam trepida patribus præberent; appel-
lare tribunos communem patriam auxiliumque eorum
6 implorare vastatis agris, urbe prope oppugnata. Con-
sensu omnium dilectus decernitur habeturque. Quum
consules in contione pronuntiassent, tempus non esse

causas cognoscendi; omnes iuniores postero die prima luce in campo Martio adessent; cognoscendis causis 7
eorum, qui nomina non dedissent, bello perfecto se daturos tempus; pro desertore futurum, cuius non probassent causam, omnis iuventus affuit postero die. Cohortes sibi quæque centuriones legerunt; bini sena- 8
tores singulis cohortibus præpositi. Hæc omnia adeo mature perfecta accepimus, ut signa, eo ipso die a quæstoribus ex ærario prompta delataque in campum, quarta diei hora mota ex campo sint, exercitusque novus, paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus, manserit ad decimum lapidem. Insequens 9
dies hostem in conspectum dedit, castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt coniuncta. Tertio die, quum ira Ro- 10
manos, illos, quum toties rebellassent, conscientia culpæ ac desperatio irritaret, mora dimicandi nulla est facta.

In exercitu Romano quum duo consules essent 70
potestate pari, quod saluberrimum in administratione magnarum rerum est, summa imperii, concedente Agrippa, penes collegam erat; et prælatus ille facilitati summittentis se comiter respondebat communicando consilia laudesque et æquando imparem sibi. In acie 2
Quinctius dextrum cornu, Agrippa sinistrum tenuit; Sp. Postumio Albo legato datur media acies tuenda; legatum alterum P. Sulpicium equitibus præficiunt. Pedites ab dextro cornu egregie pugnavere, haud seg- 3
niter resistentibus Volscis. P. Sulpicius per mediam 4
hostium aciem cum equitatu perrupit. Unde quum eadem reverti posset ad suos, priusquam hostis turbatos ordines reficeret, terga impugnare hostium satius visum est; momentoque temporis, in aversam incur-

Complete victory gained by the two consuls over the enemy.

sando aciem, ancipiti terrore dissipasset hostes, ni suo
proprio eum prœlio equites Volscorum et Æquorum
5 exceptum aliquamdiu tenuissent. Ibi vero Sulpicius
negare cunctandi tempus esse, circumventos inter-
clusosque ab suis vociferans, ni equestre prœlium con-
6 nixi omni vi perficerent; nec fugare equitem integrum
satis esse; conficerent equos virosque, ne quis revehe-
retur inde ad prœlium aut integraret pugnam; non
posse illos resistere sibi, quibus conferta peditum acies
7 cessisset. Haud surdis auribus dicta. Impressione
una totum equitatum fudere, magnam vim ex equis
præcipitavere, ipsos equosque spiculis confodere. Is
8 finis pugnæ equestris fuit. Tunc adorti peditum aciem,
nuntios ad consules rei gestæ mittunt, ubi iam inclina-
batur hostium acies. Nuntius deinde et vincentibus
Romanis animos auxit et referentes gradum perculit
9 Æquos. In media primum acie vinci cœpti, qua per-
10 missus equitatus turbaverat ordines; sinistrum deinde
cornu ab Quinctio consule pelli cœptum; in dextro
plurimum laboris fuit. Ibi Agrippa, ætate viribusque
ferox, quum omni parte pugnæ melius rem geri quam
apud se videret, arrepta signa ab signiferis ipse inferre,
11 quædam iacere etiam in confertos hostes cœpit; cuius
ignominiæ metu concitati milites invasere hostem.
Ita æquata ex omni parte victoria est. Nuntius tum
a Quinctio venit, victorem iam se imminere hostium
castris; nolle irrumpere, antequam sciat debellatum et
12 in sinistro cornu esse: si iam fudisset hostes, confer-
ret ad se signa, ut simul omnis exercitus præda potire-
13 tur. Victor Agrippa cum mutua gratulatione ad vic-
torem collegam castraque hostium venit. Ibi paucis
defendentibus momentoque fusis, sine certamine in

munitiones irrumpunt, prædaque ingenti compotem exercitum, suis etiam rebus recuperatis, quæ populatione agrorum amissæ erant, reducunt. Triumphum 14
nec ipsos postulasse nec delatum iis ab senatu accipio, nec traditur causa spreti aut non sperati honoris. Ego 15
quantum in tanto intervallo temporum coniicio, quum Valerio atque Horatio consulibus, qui præter Volscos et Æquos Sabini etiam belli perfecti gloriam pepererant, negatus ab senatu triumphus esset, verecundiæ fuit pro parte dimidia rerum consulibus petere triumphum, ne, etiamsi impetrassent, magis hominum ratio quam meritorum habita videretur.

The Romans being called upon to arbitrate in a territorial dispute between the Aricini and Ardeates, decide, on the single evidence of Scaptius, that the land in question belongs to the Romans themselves.

Victoriam honestam ex hostibus partam turpe 71
domi de finibus sociorum iudicium populi deformavit. Aricini atque Arde- 2
ates de ambiguo agro quum sæpe bello certassent, multis in vicem cladibus fessi iudicem populum Romanum cepere.
Quum ad causam orandam venissent, 3
concilio populi a magistratibus dato, magna contentione actum. Iamque editis testibus, quum tribus vocari et populum inire suffragium oporteret, consurgit P. Scaptius de plebe, magno natu, et "Si licet" inquit, "consules, de re publica dicere, errare ego populum in hac causa non patiar." Quum 4
ut vanum eum negarent consules audiendum esse vociferantemque, prodi publicam causam, summoveri iussissent, tribunos appellat. Tribuni, ut fere semper 5
reguntur a multitudine magis quam regunt, dedere cupidæ audiendi plebi, ut, quæ vellet, Scaptius diceret.
Ibi infit, annum se tertium et octogesimum agere, 6
et in eo agro, de quo agitur, militasse, non iuvenem,

vicesima iam stipendia merentem, quum ad Coriolos
7 sit bellatum. Eo rem se vetustate oblitteratam, ceterum suæ memoriæ infixam afferre, agrum, de quo ambigitur, finium Coriolanorum fuisse, captisque Coriolis iure belli publicum populi Romani factum. Mirari se, quonam ore Ardeates Aricinique, cuius agri ius nunquam usurpaverint incolumi Coriolana re, eum se a populo Romano, quem pro domino iudicem fece-
8 rint, intercepturos sperent. Sibi exiguum vitæ tempus superesse; non potuisse se tamen inducere in animum, quin, quem agrum miles pro parte virili manu cepisset, eum senex quoque voce, qua una posset, vindicaret. Magnopere se suadere populo, ne inutili pudore suam
72 ipse causam damnaret. Consules quum Scaptium non silentio modo, sed cum assensu etiam audiri animadvertissent, deos hominesque testantes, flagitium ingens
2 fieri, patrum primores arcessunt. Cum iis circumire tribus, orare, ne pessimum facinus peiore exemplo admitterent iudices in suam rem litem vertendo, quum præsertim, etiamsi fas sit curam emolumenti sui iudici esse, nequaquam tantum agro intercipiendo acquiratur, quantum amittatur alienandis iniuria sociorum
3 animis. Nam famæ quidem ac fidei damna maiora esse, quam quæ æstimari possent: hoc legatos referre domum, hoc vulgari, hoc socios audire, hoc hostes, quo
4 cum dolore hos, quo cum gaudio illos? Scaptione hoc, contionali seni, assignaturos putarent finitimos populos? Clarum hac fore imagine Scaptium; sed populum Romanum quadruplatoris et interceptoris litis alienæ
5 personam laturum. Quem enim hoc privatæ rei iudicem fecisse, ut sibi controversiosam adiudicaret rem? Scaptium ipsum id quidem, etsi præmortui iam sit

pudoris, non facturum. Hæc consules, hæc patres 6
vociferantur; sed plus cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis Scaptius valet. Vocatæ tribus iudicaverunt, agrum publicum populi Romani esse. Nec abnuitur ita 7
fuisse, si ad iudices alios itum foret; nunc haud sane quicquam bono causæ levatur dedecus iudicii; idque non Aricinis Ardeatibusque quam patribus Romanis fœdius atque acerbius visum. Reliquum anni quietum ab urbanis motibus et ab externis mansit.

NOTES.

BOOK II.

c. I. § 1. **Liberi** emphasized by its position.

iam hinc, immediately from this point. *Iam* signifies the point of time immediately succeeding what has been described before. The words qualify both *liberi* and *peragam*. *Annuos ...hominum* are illustrations of *liberi*.

'From this point the Commonwealth of Rome, with its two notes of freedom, annual elections, and the subjection of all individual authority to sovereign laws, and the fortunes of its sons in peace and war, will form the subject of my narrative.'

§ 2. **Quae libertas.** The connexion by means of the repetition of the leading idea of the preceding sentence should be noticed.

regnarunt...numerentur. The perf. and present instead of the plpf. and imp. because Livy is speaking of a present result, in his own time, of the conduct of the kings before Tarquinius Superbus.

partium. Cf. I. 30. 1, 33. 5, 44. 3.

ipsi. Closely connected with *ab se*, according to the ordinary form of reflexive expression in Latin.

sedes... proleptic, 'to accommodate.'

§ 3. **neque ambigitur quin.** *Neque ambigitur* is regarded as equivalent to *non dubium est*. The expression does not occur elsewhere, though the construction is used with other equivalents of *non dubium est*, e.g. IV. 17. 7, *Nihil controversiae fuit quin*, &c.

pessimo publico. *Pessimo* is subst., *publico* adj. The phrase is formed on the model of *bonum publicum*, c. 44. 3. 'With most injurious results to the community.' For the use of the abl. see c. 12. 1.

§ 4. **transfuga.** This adjectival or, more correctly, present-participial use of substantives is most frequent in the case of verbals in *tor* and *trix*. In Cicero it is almost confined to these, although he uses *tiro*, *advena*, and *plebicola* as adjectives; but these latter expressions are, apparently, intentionally exceptional. Livy uses such expressions (e.g. *exsul advena*, *pastor accola*) much more freely and more as a matter of course.

inviolati, like *invictus*, *inauditus* and other negatives of participles, has an adjectival sense, arising out of the meaning of the compound, what is *never conquered*, *violated*, &c., being practically *invincible*, *inviolable*, &c.

templi. The Asylum. i. 8. 5.

procellis. A rather favourite metaphor with Livy. Cf. c. 10. 7.

§ 5. **serere,** from *sero—sevi*, a metaphor from planting and raising crops. Cf. *civiles discordias s.* iii. 40. 10 and *invidiam in alios s.* Tac. Hist. ii. 86. Translate here: 'to begin a series of contests, &c.'

assuescitur. Impers. pass.: 'Familiarity with which begins (only) after long time.' 'The love of the soil for its own sake, the home feeling which must be a work of time.'

§ 6. **adultae...forent...nutriendo.** Metaphors from the rearing of plants.

quas, adversative use of relative. Cf. xxvii. 6. 2, *Ipse comitia in quem diem primum potuit edixit; quae certamine...perfici non potuerunt.* 'Discord would have shattered the rising state; whereas under the shelter of monarchical control its growth was encouraged and assisted until its matured powers were fit to produce the good fruit of liberty.'

tranquilla is opposed to *procellae* implied in *dissipatae* and *discordia*.

moderatio imperii may be equivalent to *moderatum imperium*, i. 48. 9.

§ 7. **Libertatis autem** refers back to § 1.

inde...quia = *inde...quod*. Cf. vii. 17. 3. 'The first beginnings of freedom we are to see in the limitation of the *impe-*

rium of the consuls to one year,' lit., 'you are to reckon from this, that, &c.'

'The one life-king was simply replaced by two year-kings,' Mommsen, R. H. i. 256 ff. The essential change, as Livy points out, which converted the Roman Government from a Monarchy to a Commonwealth was not the abolition of the royal powers, but rather the limitation of the reign of the kings, now called praetors or consuls, to one year, after which they became private men, responsible to the citizens for the acts of their reign.

ex. Exceptional. The preposition after *deminutum* is generally *de*.

§ 8. **primi**, because later the powers of the consuls were limited. Cf. c. 2. 1, 8. 2, Mommsen, l. c.

insignia. By the *lex Valeria de provocatione* the axe was removed from the fasces of the consul in the city. Cic. de R. P. ii. 31. The ordinary official dress of the consul was the *toga praetexta* not the *purpurea*, nor was he allowed to ride in the city. The only occasion on which a consul could assume the full insignia of the kings was when he celebrated a triumph, the *toga purpurea* on such occasions being exchanged later for the *toga picta*.

When both consuls were in the city, each in turn, for a month at a time, performed the ordinary duties and assumed the insignia of the office. Compare the expression, *penes quem fasces erant*, ix. 8. 1. The reason given here is also given by Cicero, l. c. But a more probable reason is the obvious inconvenience of two supreme magistrates of concurrent powers exercising those powers at the same time in the same city.

vindex, prop. a legal term. One who lays a legal claim to a thing.

§ 9. **postmodum** and *postmodo* (much commoner) are pretty nearly equivalent to *postea*, but more indefinite.

iure iurando, 'made them swear an oath.' Other varieties of this expression are *ad ius iurandum* and *ius iurandum adigere*, a comparison of which forms seems to indicate that *iure iurando* is dative rather than ablative. 'To pen or enclose in an oath.' Compare *iure dicundo*, xlii. 28. 6, and *solvendo aere alieno esse*, xxxi. 13. 5.

§ 10. **equestris.** As the centuries of the cavalry, both the original six and the twelve added by Servius, contained plebeian members, and as in v. 12 we find mention of plebeians in the Senate, it seems certain that some plebeians must have been

introduced into the Senate at this time. The following sentence, *id mirum*, &c., would seem to imply that the number was considerable. It is assumed by most historians (Mommsen I. 266) that the whole number added to the Senate at this time consisted of plebeians. But this is improbable in itself (Ihne, R. H. I. 136), and is not borne out by Livy's account. For he defines *conscripti* to mean *novus Senatus* which, unless we are to suppose that there were no patricians outside the kingly Senate, might well include patricians as well as plebeians. In this case, *patres* in this phrase will mean simply the original senators.

§ 11. **traditum ut**, 'dates (is derived) the custom of summoning.' *Ut* depends on the idea of *institution* implied in *traditum*.

mirum quantum is regarded as a simple adverb, and consequently does not affect the mood of the verb. Exceptional use in Livy, cf. I. 16. 8, where the verb is in subj. Gk. *θαυμασίως ὡς, θαυμάσιον ὅσον.*

c. II. § 1. **regem.** A curious instance of the formal conservatism of the Romans and their tendency to legal fictions. As certain rites had been performed only by a *Rex*, a Rex must continue to perform them, but to prevent the possibility of this official becoming *rex* in anything more than name he was made incapable of holding office and commonly called by an apparently derisive title—other forms of the title are *Rex sacrorum*, *sacrificiorum* and *sacrificus*.

The Pontifex Maximus would seem to have succeeded to the King's position as head of the Roman religious establishment. Seeley, Livy, Bk. I. p. 96.

§ 2. **nescio an**, 'perhaps.' An elliptical construction, as *an* must introduce the *second* member of an alternative question. The writer by leaving out the first member shows that the second is that to which he inclines as true. Consequently in classical prose writers it always introduces a modest affirmation. In post-Augustan writers it is constantly used to express mere doubt or ignorance. Roby, Lat. Gr. § 2255; Martial, selected epigrams, II. pref. note.

§ 3. **tamquam alieni**, &c. 'Had never abandoned his hopes of the throne or brought himself to regard another man as the lawful possessor of it, but, &c.;' lit., 'Not having forgotten the royal power, as being the property of another man.' But *obliviscor*, as in VIII. 35. 3, has the force of active or intentional forgetting, abandoning the idea of a thing, and *tamquam* is subordinate to *oblitum*, expressing what would have been his

view of the royal power, if he had abandoned the idea of obtaining it.

repetisse. The *re* signifies his idea that he was only claiming what was due to him. Cf. the use of *reddo* to pay.

nescire, 'know not how to be, &c.' Cf. VI. 30. 7, *apparuit eos tempore et victoria uti nescire.*

§ 5. **unde** = *a quo*. Cf. I. 10. 1, *eo* = *ad eum*, and *eo* in this chapter = *ad id*.

§ 6. **solidam,** equivalent to *integer* or *totus*. Horace, Odes, I. 1. 20, *solido de die*. So Livy I. 19. 6, *solidus annus*.

§ 7. **absolve,** 'complete.' Cf. III. 34. 7, *quibus adiectis absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani iuris*. Not a very common use of the word in Livy.

meminimus and **fatemur** used absolutely and parenthetically. The use is rather conversational and poetical. Used here to express the emotion with which Brutus is supposed to be speaking.

reges. I. 39. 2.

forsitan. For this use of *forsitan* qualifying the adjective *vano*, rather than the verb, comp. IX. 11. 13: *Et illi quidem forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata fide...redierunt;* and Sallust, Jug. 106. 3.

ita, &c. 'So rooted is the conviction that only with the Tarquinian clan will the spirit of monarchy depart hence.'

ita, like *adeo*, *οὕτως* and *τοιοῦτος*, introduces a statement confirmatory of a previous statement, and acquires an almost causal sense, 'so true is it that.' Cf. Cic. pro Reg. Deiot. c. 7, *Di te perduint, fugitive! ita non modo nequam et improbus, sed etiam fatuus et amens es.*

§ 8. **incluserat.** More animated way of expressing *impedierat*. Comp. Cic. pro Rab. Post. c. 17, *sed me dolor debilitat includitque vocem*. Soph. Antig. 505, *γλῶσσαν ἐγκλείοι φόβος*.

§ 9. **et** with and without *quidem* is used to introduce in connexion with a previous statement, the first or concessive member of an antithesis, the second member being introduced with or without an adversative particle, according to requirement. Cf. VI. 13. 4, *Instare Romanus. Et donec armati confertique abibant, peditum labor in persequendo fuit. Postquam iactari arma passim animadversum est, tum equitum turmae emissae.*

§ 10. **postmodum.** Cf. c. 1. 9.

§ 11. **populum** with *comitiis centuriatis* mentioned just after, apparently in contradistinction to it, seems to suggest that Livy was thinking here of the *Comitia Tributa* of later times.

comitiis cent., &c. See Mommsen, R. H. I. 261.

c. III. § 1. **ceterum**, meaning lit. 'as regards the rest,' is frequently used by Livy and Sallust as an adversative conjunction, esp. with a negative in the preceding sentence.

serius, the comp. only used in the adverb.

§ 2. **nec ii** = *et ii quidem non*, &c.

in regno, 'under the monarchy.' *In* here signifies the surrounding circumstances. Compare such expressions as *trepidis in rebus*, *in tanta omnium inopia*, *in aere alieno*, &c., and *in tot humanis erroribus* lower down.

§ 3. **tum** explained by *aequato*, &c. 'Now that there was one law for all.'

quaerentes = *requirentes*, 'looking for in vain. Cf. Cic. Verr. II. iii. 18, *ut in uberrima parte Siciliae Siciliam quaereremus*.

vertisse, intrans.: a use not uncommon in Livy.

hominem, opp. to *rem*. 'A king was a human being from whom a man could obtain a favour, lawful or unlawful: law was a machine deaf to all appeals,' &c.

§ 5. **ita, sponte** qualify *aegris*. 'They had already worked themselves into this morbid state of feeling when they came under the influence of the ambassadors sent,' &c.

animis, dat. after *superveniunt*, which signifies the introduction of a *new* impulse towards disloyalty. Cf. Verg. Ecl. VI. 20, *Addit se sociam timidisque supervenit Aegle*. For the metaphor in *aegris* comp. XXIV. 2, *Unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiae civitates, ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent*, and the similar use of *νοσεῖν* in Greek.

ea consultatio. 'The debate on this.' For this use of an adjective pronoun agreeing with a subst. to express the object after it, comp. I. 30. 4, *Hac fiducia*. VIII. 5, *Quo terrore*. The usage is very common in Livy.

ne non, &c. *Ne* depends on the notion of fear and anxiety expressed in *ea—tenuit*.

§ 6. **moliri** and **struere** in this metaphorical use generally have a bad sense, like our 'machination.'

ad id, 'ostensibly canvassing to secure their professed object.'

ambire is used absolutely.

c. IV. § 1. **Vitelliis**. These Vitellii appear to have become extinct. The Emperor belonged to a different stock. The Aquilii appear again during the republic.

§ 3. **sententia, quae censebat**. Personification or the ascribing of actions to inanimate subjects, in Cicero confined to collective words (e.g. *aetas*, *antiquitas*, &c.), words expressing moral or religious powers (e.g. *Fides*, *Fortuna*, &c.) and words expressing the mind or mental processes (e. g. *mens*, *cupiditas*, &c.), is by Livy much more freely used. See index s.v.

§ 4. **super** = *de*, rare in Cicero (only occurring in letters), is more frequent in Livy, but, as a rule, only in connexion with *res*, and esp. in such phrases as *super tali*, *tanta re*, &c.

§ 5. **ut fit**, 'naturally,' 'as is generally the case.' Cf. Cic. pro Milone, c. 10, *Dum se uxor, ut fit, comparat, commoratus erat.*

§ 7. **commisisse, ut**, &c., 'had laid themselves open to be regarded as enemies.' *Committere ut*, &c., is 'to set things going, to begin a course of action, with a certain result' (cf. *committere proelium*, 'to set a battle going'), but always used in a bad sense.

et...tamen. Cf. c. 2. 9.

ius gentium here, as frequently, means international law, the law of peace and war.

c. v. § 1. **integra**. 'The question was re-opened and again submitted to the senate.' Lit. 'The matter was submitted as one in regard to which nothing had been done, no decision arrived at.' Cf. *Integrum est mihi*, 'It is open to me.'

§ 2. **ager**. According to Cic. de R. P. 5. 2 and Dionysius 5. 13, the royal domains were distributed among the poor citizens with the exception of the portion here mentioned, and known afterwards as the Campus Martius.

§ 3. **religiosum erat**. 'It was a matter of religious observance not to,' &c. Lit. 'It was a matter involving religious scruples to,' &c. Livy uses *religio* and *religioni est* in the same way.

§ 4. **inde et aliis**, &c. *Inde* = *Iis*, ablative of material, 'out of these and the other chance materials,' &c.

credo. Parenthetic, the accus. and infin. being due to the orat. obliqua. This use in Cicero is always, more or less, ironical.

manu, 'artificially.' *Moles*, 'embankments.'

adiutum, impersonal passive, 'other artificial means were employed.'

templis, of Jupiter, Faunus, Semo, Sancus, Æsculapius. On the island of the Tiber, see Burn, Old Rome, p. 115.

firma = *satis firma*. *ad* with accus. would be a more usual construction than the dat., but comp. xxv. 36. 9, *satis validum feminis morandis*.

§ 5. **pœnæ cap.**, an unusual phrase, but used by Sallust, Jug. c. 68.

§ 6. **averterant.** 'But the spectators had no eyes for the others...their attention was riveted on,' &c. The plpf. expresses the withdrawal of the gaze from all other objects, and the resulting concentration of it on the two.

§ 7. **potissimum,** 'should have chosen that year, of all years.' *potissimum* signifies preference of one object before all others of the same class; *potius*, before one other. Cf. I. pref. 7, *cum suum...parentem Martem potissimum ferat*.

§ 8. **pater vultusque,** &c. Construction of the whole and the part. On use of *que* cf. c. 11. 1. The father, as seen in the working of his countenance, was the object of interest.

eminente, &c. 'While all through the scene it was a strange sight to see the workings of the father's face as he performed his public duty in spite of the natural affection that *would* assert itself.'

inter. Lit. 'in the midst of the administration of public punishment.' It implies that the one interrupted the other. Compare *inter* with gerundive, II. 20. 9, *Inter spoliandum corpus veruto percussus*. As all the other narrators of this story represent Brutus as perfectly unmoved, it has been suggested to read *emineretne* here; but the alteration is quite unnecessary.

Weissenb. would translate *eminente* '*trying* to assert itself,' but *emineo* is a neuter verb, 'to *be* prominent, conspicuous,' &c., and consequently the *active* present participles which he quotes are not in point.

§ 9. **ut in,** &c. 'To promote by an impressive appeal to two opposite motives the prevention of crimes.'

in utramque partem, in either direction, that is, in the way of punishment and of reward.

arcendis sceleribus. The dat. of purpose after *nobile exemplum.*

§ 10. **vindicta.** The *manumissio per vindictam* was a mode of liberating a slave by a legal fiction. The master and slave appeared before a magistrate, and a third person, previously appointed, appeared to claim the slave. This *assertor libertatis* laid a rod (*vindicta festuca*) on the head of the slave (the form observed in claiming disputed property) and pronounced the words *Hunc hominem liberum esse dico.* Whereupon the owner instead of disputing the claim turned the slave round, gave him a tap on the cheek (*alapa*) and let him go, using the words *Hunc hominem liberum esse volo.* The magistrate then pronounced judgment in favour of the claimant and so set the slave free. For the real legal process in which a person claimed another as free or slave and the claim was disputed, see III. 44—47.

civitatem. Except in quite the earliest times freedmen appear to have enjoyed the privileges of plebeians. Mommsen, I. 90. But they were enrolled in the city tribes only, until the time of Appius Claudius, the Censor, who dispersed them through all the tribes. Afterwards they were confined to the city tribes, and in B.C. 169 to one of those tribes, the *Esquilina.* According to Dionysius it was Servius Tullius who first bestowed citizen rights on freedmen. IV. 22.

c. VI. § 1. **sicut, &c.** 'A full and exact account.'

§ 2. **se...ortum.** The reading of the text is Madvig's, who inserts *ab se.* Weissenb. reads *se ortum,* taking *se* to be ablative, which seems very improbable; for the sense requires *se* in the accus., and Livy would not use *se* as ablative without something (e.g. a preposition or word in agreement) to indicate the case.

ex signifies change from one set of circumstances to another. Cf. Cic. de R. P. II. 10, *Dii ex hominibus facti,* 'The other day a powerful monarch.'

in regnum, 'to mount the throne.'

augentem. In allusion probably to the siege of Ardea, I. 57.

§ 3. **iniurias.** Cf. I. 15 and 42.

§ 4. **saltem.** Under the Roman leader, at any rate, if not under their own.

§ 6. **quadrato agmine,** 'in column.' That is the phalanx, 6 or 8 files deep, marching in column and ready to form in line either way at a moment's notice.

§ 7. **Arruns**, &c. 'Arruns saw by the lictors in the distance that it was a consul approaching; presently, as he gained a nearer and clearer view of the party, he recognised the form and features of Brutus: then maddened,' &c. *Ex* signifies the source of intelligence, which is here the appearance of the lictors. For the use of *procul*, cf. 64. 3. *cognovit* used in two constructions: (1) the accus. and infin., *consulem esse;* (2) the accus. alone, *Brutum.* Lit. 'when he perceived that the consul, &c. (and) then nearer and more certainly by form also recognised Brutus.'

ipse en. The natural position of *en* is first in the sentence Its position here intensifies the force of *ipse*.

§ 8. **infestus**, &c., 'rode straight at.'

§ 9. **neuter.** Each, in the desire to wound the other, taking no care to protect himself.

memor. Cf. c. 2. 3.

infestis. Dr Donaldson would read *infensis*, maintaining that *infensus*, only, signifies the feeling and *infestus* merely the fact. But it is a question whether the distinction can be maintained without very arbitrary alteration of MS. readings. See on c. 20. 2.

§ 10. **velut** has a limiting force, 'as if Mars was equal,' meaning that neither side was very decidedly victorious. 'They fought with balanced success, the result being almost (something like) a drawn battle.'

superveniunt. This absolute use of this verb does not occur before Livy.

c. vii. § 1. **omissa irrita re.** For a similar combination of words cf. i. 14. 4, *Immissa armata iuventute;* viii. 12. 9, *bello infecto omisso.* One of the participles is used adverbially as an extension of the predicate contained in the other.

irrita. Subjective. An enterprise from which they looked for no results : so almost = 'hopeless.'

suas quisque. Ellipse of the special singular predicate, as in *Pictores et poetae suum quisque opus a vulgo considerari vult* there is an ellipse of the general plural predicate. Both forms are common in Livy. See Roby, Lat. Gr. § 1440. *suas* is pl. on account of the collective sense of *quisque*.

Veiens. For this collective use of the singular in proper and professional names see 20. 12 and Capes' Livy xxi.—xxii. Introd. iii.

§ 2. **Arsia.** N.W. of Rome on the borders of Etruria and Latium.

§ 3. **ita**, 'in accordance with this,' confirms the previous statement and = *ita erat, nam*, 'and this was so far true that the Romans,' &c. Compare the use of *ita* in affirmative answers.

§ 4. **quanto tum potuit.** For the position of *tum* comp. I. 7. 9, *Is tum Euander*, &c., 'with all the magnificence that age admitted.'

§ 5. **ex.** Cf. c. 6. 2.

§ 6. **quia...subrogaverat.** Livy's own statement of the causes of the people's suspicion; therefore indic.

nec...et. 'Not only not...but, &c.' *et* in this connexion introduces an important addition to a previous statement.

indignitate. Cf. c. 30. 2.

§ 7. **populo**, dat. after *summissis.* The custom was a regular one in historical times.

§ 8. **ibi.** 'Then,' frequent use in Livy. Cf. c. 6. 10.

matura. 'In the full bloom of his renown, before, &c.' Compare the common metaphorical use of *floreo.*

ex. Cf. c. 6. 2.

recidisse, 'had sunk to the level of.' Cf. IV. 2. 8. So *cadere*, I. 40. 3.

§ 9. **nunquamne?** Rhetorical mode of expressing what ought to be. Cf. III. 53. 8, *Nunquamne quiescet civitas nostra a suppliciis!*

ergo, like ἄρα in Greek, expressing sorrow or indignation at realising some fact. Cf. c. 40. 8, *Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur.* Martial, IV. 88. 3, note.

vobis, dative of the person judging, Roby, 1148, the participle here having acquired an adjectival sense. The dat. instead of *a vobis* is the emendation of Gronovius. 'Will no man ever convince you so fully of the genuineness of his good qualities as to be secured against injurious suspicions?'

spectata. Metaphor from metals.

ulla virtus. Cf. c. 3. 5.

§ 10. **timerem...crederem.** Deliberative subjunctive in interrogation, without introductory particle, suggesting a just possible conception which the speaker expects his hearers to reject. Cf. XLII. 41, *Quiescerem et paterer donec in regiam meam armatus pervenisset!*

arce Capitolioque. The N.E. and S.W. eminences of the Capitoline hill.

momento. Metaphor from weighing. *Momentum* is the weight required to disturb the equilibrium, a very common metaphor in Cicero as well as in Livy. 'Does it require so little to turn the scales against my good name?' The ablative is a sort of ablative of circumstance. Lit. 'Does my fame hang (balanced against ill fame) under the circumstances of so slight a weight (being required) to turn the scale?' hence the use of *pendere* with *ex*, *ab*, *de* or the simple abl. = 'to depend upon.'

fides. 'Your confidence in me.'

§ 11. **Publii.** Rhetorical use of the proper name for the pronoun.

deferam. 'I will bring my house down not merely to level ground, but to the bottom of the hill.'

aedes, inserted by Madvig on the ground that the elliptical genitive is never used except after a preposition and that *aedes* might easily fall out between *ae* and *est.*

§ 12. **Vicae Potae.** An old Italian goddess of Victory, derived apparently from the two roots *vic* (*vi*(*n*)*co*) and *pot* (*potis*).

c. viii. § 1. **absolverent.. verterent.** Consecutive subj. *verterent* is used absolutely here, rather than intransitively, an object (*rem*, 'the state of affairs') being supplied from the context, 'produced such a reaction (such a complete revulsion of feeling), as to make him even a popular hero.'

Publicolae, from the two stems *popul* and *col*. *Populicola*, *Poplicola*, *Publicola*, by syncope and assimilation.

§ 2. **de provocatione.** In the regal period the king decided when a condemned man should be allowed to appeal for pardon. Under this Valerian law, the consuls were bound to allow it in all cases, unless the man was condemned by martial law. This fact was symbolised by the removal of the axes from the fasces. Cf. c. i. § 7.

sacrandoque, &c. The *consecratio capitis et bonorum* was a punishment attached to certain laws known as *leges sacratae*, whereby the offender was devoted to the gods with all his possessions. In the earliest times the punishment of such an offender was left in the hands of the gods, but his property was obviously lost to him, and anybody might take his life without incurring the guilt of murder. In historical times, however, it would seem that after the *comitia* had pronounced

sentence, the criminal was executed, under the superintendence of the tribunes, by being thrown from the Tarpeian rock (VI. 20); unless the modified sentence of *consecratio bonorum* was pronounced, in which case the life of the offender was spared.

The principal *leges sacratae* of historical times were those mentioned here and those which secured the inviolability of the Tribunes. Comp. III. 55.

§ 3. **subrogando.** *Rogare* in such compounds as this is used in the technical sense of submitting a proposal to the *comitia*, the nature of the proposal being indicated by the preposition. Thus *subrogare* is to make a proposal for filling a vacant office, *prorogare* to propose an extension of office, &c. Practically the words are used not simply of the proposal made but of the act of the *comitia* assenting to the proposal. Not unfrequently they are used in a general sense, e.g. *erogare*, to pay or spend.

§ 4. **magno natu,** a case of hypallage and condensed expression. Livy applies *magnus* to the man's birth, whereas it properly belongs to the man, who is great in respect of the time of his birth, *magno natu=cum grandis natu esset.* Cf. III. 38. 1, V. 34. 3.

§ 5. **memoriam.** Cf. c. 4. 2, *Memoria abiit.* The use of *intercidere* in this connexion is rare, and *memoria* is more commonly in the abl. in such expressions than subj. to the verb. Cf. c. 33. 9.

§ 6. **aedes,** begun by Tarquinius Priscus, I. 38.

§ 7. **tenenti.** In dedicating a temple, the officiating magistrate with his hand on the door-post repeated after the priest the form of dedication.

incutiunt. In Latin a messenger is identified with his message. Hence *nuntius* practically means both a messenger and a message. Livy here, by way of coining a telling expression, speaks of striking a message into the consul, suggesting the sudden terror caused by the message. Cf. *incutere timorem*, &c., 'sought to shake him from his purpose by sudden evil news.'

funesta familia. 'With death in his house.' Abl. of circumstance.

§ 8. **non** simply negatives *crediderit.* The omission of *utrum* or *ne* in the first clause of a double sentence is common. 'Whether he was incredulous or too strong-minded to care;' 'He may have been incredulous: he may have been very strong-minded: tradition leaves the question open, and it is not an easy one to settle now.'

tantum. Elliptical = *tantum ut ad peragendum inceptum valeret.* Comp. *tanti est,* 'it is worth while,' that is, *tanti est, ut faciam.*

nihil alind quam = one adverb, 'only.' See c. 29. 4. 'Only pausing in his work for an instant, as this message was delivered to him, to give orders, &c.'

tenens. 'Without letting go of the door-post.'

c. IX. § 1. **miscendo.** The modal use of the gerund, very common in Livy, and differing little in sense from a present participle.

nunc...nunc explain *preces* and *consilium* respectively.

oriundos, the gerundive of *orior,* but always used as a simple adj. without gerundival force. It differs from *ortus* in expressing not simply the historical fact of a descent, but the character, condition, claims, &c. implied in such a descent, 'descendants of Etruscan ancestors.'

§ 3. **aequari.** The present, more vivid than the future, expressing immediate apprehension of the danger described.

§ 4. **amplum,** 'that it added to the dignity of the Etruscans.' A very common use of the word both in Cicero and Livy. *Romae* '*at*', not '*of* Rome.'

Tusci. On the origin of this name and the name Etrusci, see Mommsen, v. 1, p. 129.

§ 5. **ipsi.** The young student should notice the Latin idiom here. It will be noticed that the danger to the new constitution lay in the feelings of the plebs. The expulsion of the kings had been the work of the aristocracy.

§ 6. **impensus,** generally derived from *impendo,* which is supposed to have acquired the notion of lavish expenditure from the connexions in which it was frequently used, e.g. *vitam patriae impendere.* But it is a question whether it is not simply 'unweighed,' 'beyond weighing.' So 'considerable, large,' &c.

Horace uses *impenso* alone, II. Sat. III. 245, *Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas.*

omne sumptum, 'was transferred entirely to the state.' Madvig's emendation for the MSS. *omni sumptu* which gives no satisfactory meaning.

tributo. The property-tax levied on Roman citizens for the payment of the troops and general war purposes, so called

quia tributim a singulis pro portione census exigebatur. Such a tax is mentioned in connexion with the earliest kings, and specially in connexion with the Servian reforms, when it was regulated according to the Servian property qualification. But the systematic levying of it seems to date from the year 406, when the troops first began to receive pay. From that time, whenever the ordinary revenues did not cover the military expenses, this extraordinary tax was levied to supply the deficiency. Sometimes after a successful and fruitful war it was returned to the citizens. But this was not a rule. It was levied apparently on real and personal property and ceased after the conquest of Macedonia in 167.

oneri ferendo, 'who were qualified to bear the burden;' similar use of the dat. gerundive to *solvendo esse*, 'to be qualified to pay,' 'solvent,' c. 5. 9.

§ 7. **postmodum.** Cf. c. 1. 9.

§ 8. **unus** emphasizes *quisquam* in opp. to *universus* applied to *senatus*.

c. x. § 1. **demigrant.** Cf. c. 7. 1.

dedit. Vivid use of indic., common in descriptions of scenes. It implies that the thing averted not only would have happened but for a counteracting influence, but was on the point of happening. Cf. III. 19. 8, *nisi Latini sua sponte arma sumpsissent, capti et deleti eramus.*

§ 2. **sublicius,** the earliest of the bridges of Rome built to connect the city with the Janiculus. It was built of wood, and, in consequence of certain religious feelings connected with it, was still formed of wood in the first century A. D. It probably stood a little below the ruins now known as *ponte rotto*, which stand on the site of the *pons lapideus* or Aemilius, built B.C. 179—142. This latter probably stood on the site of an older stone bridge, for Livy speaks of two bridges existing as early as B.C. 194.

vir has its full sense, 'a true man,' 'but for the bravery of one man.'

id attracted into the gender of *munimentum*. Cic. Phil. v. 14, *Pompeio patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, exstructo*, &c.

For the opposite construction see c. 38. 5, *si hoc profectio et non fuga est*, and III. 38, *Sabini...spem in discordia Romana ponentes: eam impedimentum dilectui fore.*

§ 3. **in statione.** 'In command at the bridge.'

citatos, 'at full speed.' Adj. use of participle. Cf. c. 47. 3, *citato equo.*

turbam, condensed expression = *suos ex instructis militibus turbam factos.* 'Saw his men panic-stricken and in disorder abandoning their arms and ranks.'

reprehensans, a very unusual word. It implies the constant renewal of his efforts to detain his men, one after another: 'seizing them by the arm one after the other.'

praesidio, used with local signification, as frequently.

§ 4. **transitum**, subst. in app. to *pontem*, 'if they left the bridge free for the enemy to cross by.'

iam, 'in a few moments.'

§ 5. **insignisque.** 'Showing conspicuous among the retreating forms of the runaways as he faced about ready to fight at the point of the sword, he overpowered for an instant the minds of the enemy by the mere force of his astonishing boldness.'

§ 6. **tamen**, in spite of the behaviour of the others.

§ 7. **procella.** Cf. c. 1. 4.

§ 8. **servitia**, abstr. for concrete—a common use, 'The slave-gangs.'

immemores, 'careless of,' 'indifferent to.' Cf. c. 2. 3.

§ 9. **pudor.** Cf. c. 4. 3.

§ 10. **ingenti gradu.** εὖ διαβάς, 'immoveable as a rock.' *Gradus* signifies the firm immoveable stand of the man. *ingenti*, generally, indicates 'heroic,' a power almost more than human.

alacritate, 'a ringing cheer from the Romans as they finished their work.' *alacritate* abl. of cause. *operis* a descriptive genitive, classifying *alacritas.*

§ 11. **Tiberine pater.** The regular appellation of the Tiber as a river-god in invocations.

§ 13. **in magna.** Cf. c. 3. 2. *Pro* 'in proportion to.'

se ipse. Cf. c. 9. 5.

c. xi. § 1. **ripisque.** The use of *que* in classical Latin is to couple together terms or sentences, which form part of a whole single idea; frequently it couples, as here, the specific to the general, and so the words introduced by it are epexegetical of the preceding; in other words, the two members coupled by *que* form a hendiadys.

§ 2. **per occasiones** = *data occasione, si quando occasio data esset*, first used by Livy, otherwise this modal or circumstantial use of *per*, though not unfrequent in Livy (cf. *per ambages, per defectionem*, &c.) is more common in Sallust. The use appears to be due to the influence of Greek, *per* with acc. in these cases being exactly equivalent to διά with gen. in such expressions as διὰ τάχους, &c.

aliis atque aliis, 'first one and then another,' 'different at different times.' Comp. I. 8. 4, *alia atque alia loca appetendo. Atque* lays a stress on the second *alius*.

§ 4. **hoc tantum**, &c. When Livy uses a neut. adj. substantively in combination with a genitive, the adj. is always of the second declension and the genitive is a partitive genitive—the use of these neut. adj. in combination with pronouns is common in Livy, I. 29. 3, *ultimum illud domos visuri*. Cicero only uses such combinations to supply the place of abstract subst. not in the language. N. D. I. 24. 68, *illud vestrum beatum et aeternum*.

ultor...vindicem. Cf. c. 1. 4. 'Submitting with indifference to small affronts, he was reserving his vengeance for more important occasions.'

§ 5. **Esquilina**, on the east side of the city.

quod, 'because.'

§ 6. **et sciere.** 'And, as a matter of fact, they did know of it.'

ut, Gk. ὡς, makes the words that follow not Livy's statement, but the thought of the people that he is writing about.

§ 7. **lapidem**, milestone—an anachronism, for the via Gabina and its milestones did not exist until long after this time. Livy of course means that these men were posted at the point where the second milestone on the Gabinian way stood in his time. In VII. 39. 16 he speaks more correctly, '*ad lapidem octavum viae quae nunc Appia est*.'

porta Collina, on the N.E. of the city.

§ 8. **Naevia** on the S. between the Aventine and Caelian. The Romans were posted in four divisions—N., E. and S. of the city. The Etruscans moved round the N. side of the city to the Esquiline Gate. As soon as they passed the Colline Gate Larcius drew out his forces to cut off their retreat that way. Valerius, issuing from the Porta Caelimontana, first came in contact with the enemy. As soon as he had engaged with them, Herminius, leaving his ambush on the road to Prae-

neste, attacked them in the rear. At the same time, the troops of Larcius at the Colline, and those of Lucretius at the Naevian Gate, made their presence known to the enemy, who were thus completely surrounded and cut down.

§ 9. **Lucretium**, evidently a mistake for *Valerium*, and altered accordingly by most editors.

c. xii. § 1. **cum**, 'involving.' The abl. with or without *cum* according to circumstances (see rule iii. 38. 1), frequently expresses the result of an action as its accompaniment.

sedendo, a word regularly used of a besieging army, xxxi. 38. 8, *Sedentem Romanum debellaturum.*

§ 4. **fortuna**, 'a charge which the present condition of the city would tend to substantiate.' The abl. qualifies *ut transfuga.*

§ 5. **praedo...ultor.** Cf. c. 1. 4. 'Not to plunder nor to retaliate on our plunderers.' The verbal subst. is here qualified by *invicem.* Cf. c. 35. 3.

§ 7. **eum.** Emphasized by its position at the head of the second of two sentences asyndeton.

quo temere. *quo = in quem*, relative to *scribam*, 'letting his hand fall where blind chance directed it.' *temere* in sense belongs really rather to Mucius's action than to fortune's.

§ 8. **metuendus**, &c., 'inspiring more fear than he felt himself.'

§ 10. **animos.** For the plural of a single person cf. i. 25. 3.

accingere in is uncommon, *ad* being the more usual preposition. The metaphor is military.

§ 12. **periculoque.** 'With mingled feelings of anger at the outrage and terror at the danger he had incurred.' *que* couples the two feelings which went to make up the whole state of mind of the king. c. 2. 1.

§ 13. **en tibi.** 'Look here and learn! &c.' *tibi* is ethical dative, the person interested in the exclamation.

dextramque, 'and with that (*que*) plunged, &c.' c. 2. 1.

alienato ab sensu, 'insensible to pain,' lit., 'alienated or disconnected from sensation.'

§ 14. **macte**, blest—contains the root of the Gk. μάκαρ. It is a question whether it is an adverb or the vocative case.

From the use of the plural *macti*, the latter seems the more probable. In that case, it is a *constructio ad sensum*, the case required grammatically being attracted into the vocative because of the vocative sense of the whole expression. Comp. Horace II. Sat. VI. 20, *seu Iane libentius audis*.

§ 16. **ceteri.** 'The rest each in his turn as the lot brings his name to the head of the list will be here in due time, so long as Fortune offers a chance of attacking you,' or, 'until Fortune puts you in our power.'

primi is proleptic; 'as the lot of each shall have fallen (*cado* for the more usual *excido*) so that he comes first.'

c. XIII. § 2. **quo** (*casu*), prob. a modal abl. 'in which.' If the meaning were 'from which danger' the prepn. *a* would be required. *Tego*, in the sense of 'protecting,' is not very common.

texisset. Subj. because the relative clause contains P.'s view of the fact.

ultro, 'unasked.' *Ultro* is used of an action done *proprio motu*, without any suggestion or impulse from outside. *Sponte* of an action done freely, not under compulsion.

§ 3. **iactatum de.** On the analogy of *agi de*, *iactatum* being, as it were, a weak form of *actum*, a mere hint or suggestion, as opposed to a definite proposal.

quia, with indic.: a reason stated by Livy.

quod, with subj.: a reason in the mind of Porsinna. 'Not because he had any doubt in his own mind that the Romans would decline to entertain it, but because it was impossible for him to decline to offer it.'

§ 4. **agro.** Cf. I. 15. 4 and 33. 8.

Romanis, dat. after *expressa*.

§ 5. **Mucia prata.** Nothing is known of the position of these fields.

§ 6. **dux,** 'at the head of,' c. 1. 4.

§ 8. **alias** is not equivalent to *ceteras*. The use of it emphasizes the desire to regain Cloelia. Porsinna does not say that he cared nothing for all the rest as a body considered numerically, but for *any* except (different from) Cloelia.

facere = *se facere*. Orat. obliq. 'he cared little (he said) about any others.'

dicere...prae se ferre, historic infinitives.

quemadmodum...sic, variation of the ordinary *ut...ita.*

§ 10. **opportuna**=*obnoxia*, as above, c. 12. 16.

§ 11. **summa Sacra via.** The portion of the *sacra via* where the porta Mugionis and the temple of Jupiter Stator stood and afterwards the arch of Titus. From this point the road descended to the Forum.

Sacra. This is the regular position of the adj. in this and similar expressions. Cf. 32. 1.

c. xiv. § 1. **huic.** *Abhorrere* with the dat. is unusual, the regular construction being with *a* and *abl.*

inter cetera sollemnia, among the other formalities of a public sale.

§ 2. **mitiore,** such as that suggested in the next sentence. This is the account given by Plutarch, Popl. c. 19, *Διὸ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι πωλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια πρῶτα κηρύττουσι τὰ Πορσίνα χρήματα, τιμὴν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς χάριτος ἀΐδιον ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ διαφυλάττοντες.* It is impossible to say what the origin of the custom was. Possibly it was simply a verbal corruption.

§ 3. **ab,** 'in consequence of:' rather a common use in Livy, but rare before his time. Cf. I. 31. 4, *Ab eodem prodigio novemdiale sacrum susceptum est.*

§ 4. **in potestate.** The reading *potestatem* in some MSS. is a case of confusion between *acc.* and *abl.* of nouns of 3rd decl., the difference in writing and especially in pronunciation in such words as this being small: where this is not the case the abl. is always found, e.g. *in vincla* is not found for *in vinclis.*

§ 6. **concitato,** 'impetuous.' Cf. c. 10. 3.

intulerant. The plpf. expresses the rapidity of the action. Cumae in Campania, the first Greek colony planted in Italy by Chalcideans and Eretrians. The Cumaeans from early times had been allies of the Romans.

§ 7. **praelatos.** *Prae* here=*praeter*, as in I. 45. 6, *praefluit,* 'flows past.'

§ 9. **nuntii.** Cf. c. 1. 4.

Tuscus vicus, a quarter between the Palatine and Capitoline, at the foot of the former. In historical times it was a very low quarter of the city. Hor. II. Sat. III. 228, *Tusci turba impia vici.*

c. xv. § 2. **non quin.** 'Not that...not,' negative of '*non quo*' with subj.: a classical usage expressing a desire to anticipate and deny a reason that might be suggested for a previously stated fact. The English vulgarism 'not as how' is a near equivalent. Cic. de Orat. ii. 72, *Non tam ut prosim causis elaborare soleo quam ut ne quid obsim: non quin enitendum sit in utroque, sed tamen,* &c.

non recipi reges. 'That there was no restoring the kings.' The present instead of the future emphasizes the certainty of refusal. Cf. v. 20. 1, *Dictator cum iam in manibus videret victoriam, urbem opulentissimam capi,* &c.

in perniciem. *In* signifies the tendency or natural end of a course of action. Livy, as other post-Ciceronian writers, also uses it to express the actual result of an action. Comp. *accendere in pugnam* with *exardescere in contentionem.* This usage is probably due to the influence of Greek.

§ 3. **in animum** and *animum inducere* admits of the infin. or *ut* with subj. after it. The latter is more usual.

erit, vivid use of indic. for subj. Strictly speaking, the indic. in orat. obliq. should introduce the writer's own statement. A Graecism. Cf. xxv. 4. 6.

§ 5. **obstinatum.** A very rare use of the word, which is commonly used only of persons or human faculties, e.g. *animus. destinatum* is more commonly used in this sense.

obtundam, used absolutely, *eadem* being governed by *agendo.* So Ter. And. 348, *Obtundis tametsi intellego?* In Cic. Verr. iv. 49 it is a question whether the words *aures vestras* ought not to be supplied.

The origin of the absolute use is prob. an ellipse of *aures.* Hence the verb gets the sense of wearying persistence generally. 'I will not go on with wearisome persistency driving continually at the same point to no purpose.'

c. xvi. § 2. **Tusculo.** Comp. c. 15. 7.

§ 5. **vetus,** &c. 'All who came (to Rome for the comitia, &c.) from this district (that in which the Claudii were settled) were known as the old Claudian tribe, when subsequently new Claudii were added to the community.' The opposition between *vetus* and *novis* seems to point to this as the natural translation of this passage, which is however very obscure.

The oldest *tribus rusticae* were named from the clan districts (*pagi*). Mommsen, R. H., vol. i. pp. 39, 46. See also c. 21. 7.

inter patres. Cf. iii. 35. 3, *Inter decemviros numerare.* From a comparison with x. 8. 7, iv. 4. 7 and 3. 14, as well as with i. 8. 7, Livy appears to mean that Appius Claudius was admitted into the Senate and consequently became a patrician. On the real relation of the Senate to the patrician order see Seeley's Livy, Bk. i., Introd.

dignationem = the commoner *dignitas*, 'rank.'

§ 8. **Latinae.** That is, colonies planted on conquered ground by the Latin confederation, different from the Latin colonies after the dissolution of that confederation planted by Rome alone. The Latin colonies were of three periods: (1) Those planted in the early times of the Latin confederation, when Rome was its head state merely. (2) Those planted after the renewal of the league by Spurius Cassius and the admission of the Hernici into it. (3) Those planted by Rome alone, after the complete reduction of the Latins, and holding the same position relatively to Rome as the towns which had formerly been members of the Latin league. The old Latin colonies had been considered members of that league.

Pometiam, 'was concentrated on Pometia.' Cf. i. 33. 4, *omni Latino bello Medulliam compulso.*

§ 9. **nec magis,** 'as little.'

ab obsidibus. The preposition is commoner when persons are the object, the simple abl. when things.

c. xvii. § 2. **in quos.** 'On these the A. burst in a sudden sally, not waiting for a favourable opportunity or a prospect of success, but impelled by implacable hatred.' The ablatives give the motive which induced the A. to rise in force (*coorior*) against their enemies. *occasione* is subjective and causal, 'because of a supposed opportunity.' *iam* qualifies *inexpiabili*, 'a hatred which had reached the stage of being implacable.'

§ 5. **mole,** the heavy apparatus or machinery, more generally in this connexion used metaphorically. xxiii. 28. 5, *cernentes quanta vix tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret.*

§ 6. **sub corona.** It was an ancient custom to crown with a wreath prisoners of war when sold into slavery.

c. xviii. § 2. **rebellionem,** renewal of the Sabine war. Cf. c. 16. 6.

§ 3. **Latini.** Cf. c. 16. 2.

triginta. The thirty cities of the Latin league. Mommsen, i. 41 and 357.

§ 4. **nec quibus,** 'or who were the consuls who could not be trusted because,' &c.

enim. Cf. iii. 50. 7.

parum, with *minus* and *minime*, a very favourite meiosis in Latin for *non.*

§ 5. **consulares.** Acc. after *legere* (perf.). The subj. to *legere* being prob. *patres*, understood. The choice and nomination of the actual person lay with the consul. The qualification here stated as requisite for the dictatorship is out of keeping with the fact that the dictatorship still existed during the period of the *Tribuni militum consulari potestate*, which lasted for a considerable time, and with the actual records of the dictators elected. Even in this case one tradition gave a non-consular as the first dictator. But Livy may mean that there was a special regulation applying to this election on account of the distrust of the consuls.

§ 6 **magistrum**. The original name of the dictator appears to have been *magister populi.* The dictatorship was a reproduction for a limited period in emergency of the irresponsible monarchy. Hence the axes appeared again in the *fasces*, as no appeal from the decision of the dictator could be claimed. See c. 8. 2. Mommsen, i. 262.

appositum. The consuls remained in office, but as subordinate magistrates to the dictator.

§ 8. **dicto parere** is practically one word, rather stronger than *parere* alone—so also *dicto audire.* For a similar division of the preposition from the gerund and for a similar reason, cf. Cic. Off. ii. 19, 65, *ad beneficio obstringendos.*

§ 10. **bella,** 'who were no sooner out of one war than they begun another.' *Ex* signifying immediate sequence.

sererent. Cf. c. 1. 5.

c. xix. § 2. **bellum Latinum.** c. 16. 2.

gliscens, 'gathering strength.' *glisco* is confined mostly to poets and post-Augustan prose writers. It expresses rapid and irresistible growth whether of a thing or a feeling, e.g. *gliscit ignis, multitudo, invidia,* &c. The derivation is uncertain. The root is possibly the same as the Greek χλι- (in χλιαρός), signifying originally warmth. In that case *glisco* would mean originally to begin to be warm, and the sense of it may be derived from heating a substance such as water, &c.

§ 5. **certamina.** The plural signifies the different hand-to-hand encounters in which the generals engaged. For the phrase, cf. *proelium miscere*, and the Greek *μῖξαι ἄρη* (Soph. O. C. 1047).

§ 6. **instruentemque.** Cf. c. 11. 1.

§ 7. **fefellit.** *ἔλαθε*, a Graecism rather common in Livy, cf. viii. 20. 5, *ne hostis falleret ad urbem incedens.*

§ 10. **proelium ciet**, an expression used of leaders who animate their troops by example and words. Cf. i. 12. 2, *Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant.*

quo maiore, defective comparative sentence, the usual *eo* with comp., or an equivalent, not appearing in the other member. This is not common in Livy, but frequent in Tacitus.

c. xx. § 3. **infenso.** The difference between *infensus* and *infestus* appears to be that whereas *infensus always* implies an angry hostile feeling in the mind of a person, *infestus* by itself only necessarily implies hostile action and requires the addition of some word (e.g. *animus*) or the help of the context, to imply feeling as well.

labentibus, &c. 'Beneath the arms that slipped from his grasp.'

defluxit. The word expresses the effortless sinking of the helpless frame. Cf. Verg. Aen. xi. 128 of the dying Camilla, *Ad terram non sponte fluens.* Plutarch has the expression, *ἀποῤῥεῖν τοῦ ἵππου.*

§ 5. **delectam manum.** An anachronism. The *cohors praetoria* began with Scipio the younger.

§ 9. **veruto**, a javelin, 3½ feet long, with an iron head 5 inches long.

inter, &c. c. 5. 7. 'He died as they began to dress his wound.'

§ 10. **antesignanis.** This term seems to have had a different signification at different periods of the Roman army organisation. In this period it meant the first line of the battle, that is the first line of maniples fighting before their standards which in battle were placed in the last rank of the maniple. Under ordinary circumstances these would be the maniples of the *hastati*, and generally when the term *antesignani* was used, it would be understood to mean the *hastati*, unless there were something to show the contrary. But supposing the *hastati* to

have been driven back and the *principes* to have taken their place, these in their turn fighting in front of their standards would be *antesignani*. The term therefore would not be confined to any one portion of the army, but would be used of that portion which for the time being was fighting in the front of the battle with its standards behind it. That line of standards behind the front line was the constant element of the battle order—so long as it was maintained the battle was not lost; when the army were gaining, this line was advanced (*signa promovere*), when it was broken, the battle was lost.

§ 12. **equiti**, collective or generic use of the subst., very frequent in Livy, especially in national names, e.g. *Poenus*, *Romanus*, &c.

Somewhat similar is the collective use of abstract words, e.g. *advocatio* = *advocati*, III. 47. 1.

c. xxi. § 2. **Saturnalia**. The first institution of the *Saturnalia*, a festival in honour of the old Italian god Saturnus. In B.C. 217 it was considerably modified by the introduction of Greek elements, and became later the wild carnival that we find it under the early empire. It was originally a one day's festival, extended by Augustus to three, and by Caligula to five days. Under the later republic some uncertainty as to the day appears to have prevailed, owing to the alteration in the number of days in the months introduced by Julius Cæsar, and the popular celebration straggled over as many as seven days. This was probably the reason why Augustus fixed the three days for it. The purely religious part lasted always for one day only.

§ 4. **implicant**. Sc. *nos*, a strange ellipse. 'We find ourselves entangled in such a wild confusion of dates.'

§ 5. **Aristodemum**. This man, surnamed ὁ μαλακός, had, according to the tradition, crushed the aristocracy in Cumae and made himself despot about the time of the expulsion of the Tarquins. He had appeared as the ally and champion of the Latins against the Etruscans at Aricia, cf. c. 14. 6. As Tarquinius had to be located somewhere to die, Aristodemus answered the romancers' purpose as well as any one else. He had fled from Porsinna to Tusculum, c. 15. 7.

§ 6. **nimis luxuriosa**, 'led them into excesses;' an hypallage, *luxuriosa* being properly applicable to the *patres*, not to the *laetitia*.

§ 7. **Signia**. Cf. I. 56. 3.

una et viginti. According to Dionysius, Servius had formed 30 or 31 country tribes which, with the four city ones made 34

or 35, the number that was still adhered to in later times. Livy's account represents these tribes as having been added to from time to time until they reached the number 35, at which addition ceased. This is more probable in itself. The *tribus rusticae* would naturally increase in number as the territory was extended by conquest. And it is borne out by the character of the names of these tribes. Some of these bear the name of ancient patrician *gentes*, whose separate local habitations would thus seem to have formed the *tribus*. The names of the others are purely territorial. This would point to their addition at a later time. Cf. c. 16. 5, and Seeley, Livy, Bk. i. Introd.

c. xxii. § 1. **ni.** Cf. c. 10. 1.

§ 2. **hac ira.** Cf. c. 3. 5.

consilii, 'for an intention,' not carried into execution.

immemores. Cf. c. 2. 3.

a Cora. The preposition signifies the local habitation of the men. Not unfrequent use in Livy. So i. 50, *Herdonius ab Aricia.*

§ 3. **nec.** Adversative, 'but not,' as *et* frequently means 'and yet.' Cf. xxi. 44. 5, *includit nos terminis...neque eos quos statuit terminos observat*, and comp. c. 28. 8, *et apparebat.*

§ 4. **recens.** Adv., so used by Livy only with pf. pass. part.

clades...abstinuit. Rather striking personification. See on c. 4. 3.

§ 5. **relata**, the technical word used of submitting a matter to the Senate, as *reiicere* is for referring back a matter for judgment from one person or body to another.

§ 6. **enimvero.** The simplest sense of *enimvero* is that of strong affirmation connected with what precedes and based on the feeling that the truth of the statement will approve itself to the hearer as soon as it is made. 'You will easily understand,' 'of course.' Frequently used in this sense with adv. of time, cf. c. 36. 6. Frequently also it implies more distinctly a conclusion from what has preceded, and especially a conclusion to which a man is forced against his wishes. i. 51. 8, *enimvero res manifesta visa*, 'unfortunately,' 'I am sorry to say.' Cic. Verr. iv. 66. 147, *Ille enimvero negat*, where the pretended reluctance to believe the fact is made to tell against the adversary. It is also used in answers = 'of course.'

magna, &c., in apposition to *qui...fuerant*, attracting the

verb into the sing. In XXXVIII. 28. 7, the verb is similarly attracted into the plural, *Una civitas Samaei desciverunt.*

§ 7. **habiti**, &c., 'for having been, &c.' Graecising use of the participle.

hospitia iungunt. They entered into engagements to befriend one another in their respective countries.

Latinum nomen. The general term including all the cities of the Latin league under the hegemony of Rome and all Latin colonies.

c. XXIII. § 1. **nexos**, bondsmen for debt. Under Roman law a debtor who could not satisfy his creditors was after certain legal formalities assigned (addictus) to his creditors who could either kill him and divide his carcase, sell him into foreign slavery, or keep him in modified slavery at home. The debtor was strictly speaking *nexus* as soon as he had incurred the *nexum* or obligation of the debt and not a bondsman until he was *addictus*. But *nexus* is commonly used of the condition of the man after judgment was given against him. A man could not be absolutely a slave in his own state, according to the maxim of Latin law that no burgess could become a slave in a state in which he had been free. But the adjudged debtor was practically a slave in all but the name. Mommsen, I. 163, 4 and 110. See § 6.

§ 2. **gliscentem.** Cf. c. 19. 2.

§ 4. **efferaverant.** 'Gave a wild inhuman aspect to his face.' *Effero* is 'to dehumanise,' ἀποθηριόω, to produce an inhuman or unnatural condition. So Dido, in the unnatural state of mind, preceding her suicide, is *coeptis immanibus* effera. Aen. IV. 642.

in. Cf. II. c. 3. 2. Here however, as is shown by the *tamen*, the circumstance is one *in spite of which* something is the case. Not an unfrequent use, I. 21. 1, *Tamen in re tam clarâ hominum error manet.*

ordines duxisse = *centurionem fuisse.* So III. 44. 2, *honestum ordinem ducere. Ordo* was the name given to a maniple arranged in battle order, e.g. *ordo octavus hastatus prioris, posterioris centuriae.* Each century was commanded by a centurion and the centurion of the second (posterior) century was subordinate to the centurion of the first. The centurions also differed in rank according to the part of the army they served in, see 27. 6. The plural *ordines* here implies several campaigns.

§ 5. **villa**, farm.

tributum. Cf. c. 9. 6.

suo=*sibi*. So xxxi. 31. 12, *tempore nostro adverso.*

§ 6. **non in servitium.** *Servitium* is evidently used in a pregnant sense, 'not to ordinary or mere slavery but &c.' The debtor could hardly mean to draw a distinction between his nominal and real condition. That was true (see above) but a truth not to his purpose. He would *call* his condition slavery. Such a sense too would require *quidem* or an equivalent in the first member.

ergastulum. The work-house in which less trusted slaves who worked during the day in chains were housed at night. It was also used as a house of correction for offending slaves.

§ 8. **vincti solutique**, 'chained and unchained.' See above.

fidem, protection. *Fides* in such phrases, which are common, is the expression or exhibition of good faith or loyalty.

comes, *generic* sing. Cf. c. 20. 12.

passim, explained by *per omnes vias.* 'The streets were filled everywhere with noisy crowds hurrying by different routes to the Forum.'

§ 9. **cum periculo.** Cf. c. 12. 1.

§ 11. **exprobrantes.** 'Bitterly recalling their several services in different campaigns.'

alius, though grammatically in apposition to subject of *exprobrantes*, in sense qualifies with *alibi*, *militiam.* The sentence is really modelled on Greek. Comp. Soph. O. C. 928, *σὺ δ' ἀξίαν οὐκ οὖσαν αἰσχύνεις πόλιν τὴν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ.*

futuri, final, 'intending themselves to direct and control the public counsels.'

§ 12. **infrequentiam.** It is uncertain how many formed a quorum of the Senate. The number is differently stated at different times as 100, 150, and 200.

§ 13. **extrahi**, otherwise used with things as subject, is here used of persons by attraction to the construction of *eludi*, 'they were being put off.'

§ 14. **prope erat ut**, frequent in Livy.

non modo. Roby, Lat. Gr. (Sch. Ed.) § 881.

§ 15. **arrepto.** c. 27. 12, 54. 1.

c. XXIV. § 1. **adeo.** Cf. c. 2. 7.

§ 2. **ultores.** Cf. c. 1. 4.

nomina darent, i.e. for the levy, the technical expression.

penes is used always of persons. Connected with *penus* and Greek *πατέομαι*, it is used of persons in whose keeping (lit. storehouse) a thing is—so used both literally and metaphorically. In the latter use, it corresponds often nearly to our phrase 'to rest with,' e.g. *culpa penes aliquem est.*

§ 4. **ceterum.** Cf. c. 3. 1.

quidem illa. This use of *ille* (here in an unusual order) introduced for the sake of the *quidem*, to give it distinctness and emphasis, is very common in Cicero. Philipp. VII. 6, *excusatio misera illa quidem sed tamen iusta.*

parte, pregn. 'only a part.'

§ 5. **praeverti,** a conjectural emendation adopted by Madvig for the MSS. *praevertisse*, an obvious error, as the tense shows, arising perhaps from the other perfect infinitives in the immediate neighbourhood, *intervenisse*, &c. *Praeverto* is used in the sense of 'taking precedence of,' 'outweighing,' but *praevertor* is much commoner. With the acc. *praevertor* is used with personal subj., 'to pay special attention to anything.'

neque patribus, anacoluthon. Livy returns to the negative instead of employing another *aut.*

per metum corresponds to abl. *voluntate*, frequent combination in Livy, e.g. VI. 3. 10, *non vi...sed...per conditiones.* Both are modal, c. 11. 2.

postmodo. c. 1. 9.

§ 6. **moraretur,** 'detain.' The household of a defaulting debtor came into the possession of the creditor as well as the debtor himself.

§ 7. **ex privato,** i.e. out of the establishments of their creditors. 'From retirement.'

sacramento. The military oath. The abl. is modal. 'To make declaration in (the way of) the oath.' One man in each legion repeated the words of the oath. The rest took it by saying the words *idem in me.* So *sacramento rogare* is to administer the oath.

c. xxv. § 1. **si qua** (abl.), Gk. εἴ πως. 'In the hope that.'

frustra, predicate; cf. I. 59. 6, *quidquid sit, haud* temere *esserentur.*

§ 4. **eques.** Cf. c. 20. 12.

§ 5. **captum.** The repetition of the verb in the pass. part. signifies the *immediate* sequence of what follows. Cf. I. 10, *Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur.* Seeley's note. The construction is therefore natural in rapid narrative.

§ 6. **inde**=*ex eo*, 'from this source the pockets of the needy soldiers were replenished.' Cf. c. 2. 5, 20. 12.

cum. Cf. c. 12. 1.

Ecetranorum, a hill tribe of the Volsci; according to Dionysius, an important one.

c. xxvi. § 1. **tumultus**, here used in its simple sense of a disorderly unorganised rising in arms, 'a raid,' not in its special sense which belongs rather to a later time of 'civil or Italian war.'

enim explains the use of *territavere.* The Romans were alarmed but not hurt.

praedabundum. See c. 60. 2.

§ 3. **eques.** Cf. c. 20. 12.

legio, used here quite generally for an 'army.' This is perhaps the original sense of the word. So Horace, Sat. II. vi. 4, *Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitabant.* And Sallust, Cat. *Sciebam saepe numero (populum Romanum) cum Magnis legionibus hostium contendisse.* See I. 11. 1, Seeley's note.

§ 4. **in.** Cf. c. 3. 2. 'Just when men were beginning (iam) to hope and trust that peace was secured on all sides.' *Magna spes* is a fully developed hope, amounting almost to confidence.

§ 5. **fama.** Cf. c. 4. 3.

nec...ipsi. That is, even if an orderly meeting of the Senate could have been held, a peaceful answer would have been impossible as the people in their excitement were already arming for war. *Ipsi* refers in sense rather to the whole population than the senators alone, 'their side.'

c. xxvii. § 1. **victor.** Cf. c. 1. 4.

Romanus. Cf. c. 20. 12.

quum. *Quum* with indic. following the principal sentence shows the coincidence of two actions more distinctly and vividly

than when it precedes the principal sentence. Here, this vividness is heightened by the use of the hist. inf., the regular use of which is to describe the different parts of the same scene. It represents what happened as the two sides of a picture, the plebs looking for the fulfilment of the promises made to them on the one side, and on the other Appius doing his best to frustrate their hopes. The construction is used by Sallust, Jug. 98. 2, and frequently by Tacitus, not by Cicero or Caesar.

et qui nexi, &c. Cf. c. 24. 6.

§ 3. **adeo.** Cf. 2. 7.

in. Cf. 15. 2.

causam, 'side,' a sense derived from the forensic use of the word. From this it became gradually wider and vaguer in its signification, until it spread into the French *chose*.

§ 4. **ambitiosum**, popularity-hunter.

§ 5. **reiecit.** Cf. 22. 5. For the election of the dedicator, comp. c. 42. 5.

annonae. In the early times the superintendence of the markets, afterwards the duty of the aediles, belonged to the consuls.

mercatorum. Guilds of traders connected with the temple and worship of Mercury. Cf. *Mercurialis.*

sollemnia. The inaugural ceremonies performed in the presence of the high priest who dictated the form of dedication. Cf. c. 8. 8.

suscipere, to perform, with a sense of obligation and responsibility implied; frequently used in connexion with religious performances. So Cic. in Vatin. 6, *inaudita et nefaria sacra suscipere.*

§ 6. **primi pili.** The first centurion of the first maniple of the Triarii. Therefore the first centurion of the legion. The special name *pilus* was applied to the maniple of the Triarii, hence the other two divisions are sometimes called collectively *antepilani.*

fastigio, lit. 'higher than his highest point.'

Fastigium, containing in its second element the same root as the Greek στείχω and the Sanskrit *stigh*, 'to ascend,' means the highest point of anything raised above ground, or by inversion the lowest point of a pit or hole sunk in the ground, Verg. Georg. II. 288, *Forsitan et scrobibus quae sint* fastigia *quaeras*... Hence it is used metaphorically of a man's position in life, rank

&c., as we talk of a man, for example, marrying above or beneath himself. So xxvii. 31. 6, *In privatum fastigium se summittendo.* Suet. Iul. 76, *ampliores humano fastigio honores.*

ad ignominiam. iii. 36. 5.

§ 7. **utique**, lit. 'anyhow,' signifies that something certainly is the case, whatever else may be true. In Cicero generally used with subj. or imperat. Here it qualifies *inde.*

grassabantur. *Grassari* always implies powerful or forcible, and hence sometimes violent advance. Comp. 12. 14.

§ 8. **decretum**, here is 'a judicial decision.'

§ 10. **populari silentio**, 'shutting his mouth (keeping in the background) to please the mob.' *Silentium* here used in a wider sense than our 'silence,' of refusal to come forward and take decided action. So Tac. Agric. 6, *Idem praeturae tenor et silentium.*

§ 12. **arripi.** c. 54. 1.

supererant, i.e. He had more than enough courage to bear a weight of odium, 'he had courage enough to face any amount of unpopularity.'

animi, 'courage.' See Livy i. 25, Seeley's note.

c. xxviii. § 1. **ne in foro**, &c. 'That they might not find themselves in the Forum confused and disorganised, forming their plans on the spur of the moment, and trusting to random haphazard action.'

§ 3. **magistratus**, pregnant, magistrates worthy of the name.

§ 4. **id**, sc. *virum esse*, 'manhood was more to the point than consulship.'

§ 5. **correpti.** 'Thus reproached.' A sense of the word not found in Cicero, and only here in Livy. Generally has a qualifying word to indicate the meaning. Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 257, *impransi correptus voce magistri.*

ergo. 'What in heaven's name, &c.' The impassioned use of *ergo* = Gk. ἄρα, c. 7. 8. For the use in orat. obliq., comp. x. 13. 10, *quid ergo attineret,* xxxviii. 59. 8, *ubi ergo esse?*

acerrimum, 'strict.'

§ 6. **iuniores**, i.e. the men of military age.

§ 7. **ut,** &c. 'and then they might fight for fatherland and fellow-citizens, and not for owners (drivers).' *dominis*, owners of slaves.

§ 8. **participem.** c. 1. 4.

et. Cf. c. 22. 3.

§ 9. **abdicare,** with accus., less regular construction than *abdicare se consulatu.*

c. xxix. § 1. **ne.** 'That you may not, &c. (we tell you) you are threatened with, &c.' Horace, Odes, iv. 9. 1, *ne forte credas*, &c. *Ne* with present subj. is not prohibitive, but is frequently used to express the object of the speaker in making the statement on which the *ne* clause depends.

arbitrio, 'under the direction.'

§ 2. **nominatim,** an irregular proceeding to call upon a special individual not in the order of the muster roll.

§ 4. **nihil aliud quam,** used as a single adv. = 'simply' or 'merely,' by ellipse of the verb 'to say' or 'do,' &c. governing *nihil aliud.* The usage is common in Livy and later writers, but not Cicero or Caesar, who always have a verb governing the *nihil aliud.*

intercursu, a word not used before Livy's time, but not unfrequent in him. He has also the verbs *intercurro* and *intercurso*, but only once each.

in qua tamen, adversative relative assisted by *tamen.* Cic. Verr. iv. iv. 7, *Tot praetores tot consules in Sicilia...fuerunt...* quorum *nemo sibi tam vehemens...visus est qui*, &c., 'and yet no one of them.'

§ 5. **quaestionem,** 'a criminal enquiry.'

decernente, sc. *quaestionem.* Conative present; 'sought to pass a decree to that effect, not by votes, but by noisy clamour.'

ferocissimo quoque, 'the bolder spirits among them.'

§ 7. **vulgabat,** conative sense of imperfect, almost = *vulgandum censebat*, 'would not deal with it as a general question.'

§ 8. **sisti,** impersonal passive of *sisto*, intransitive, frequent in Livy. Cicero uses a personal expression, Acad. iii. 96. 233, *Rempublicam sistere non posse;* 'the state must fall.'

§ 9. **tantum turbarum,** 11. 4.

§ 10. **id adeo.** 'This, yes, this,' or, 'this, let them observe.' The force of *adeo* in these cases is to emphasize, and force on the hearer's notice the word it follows. Verg. Ecl. iv. 11, *Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule inibit*.

§ 11. **age dum.** In this enclitic indefinite use *dum* frequently, especially after imperative, loses its temporal sense, as πω in Greek does. *age dum* = Gk. ἄγε δή.

provocatio non est, 18. 8.

§ 12. **mihi,** ethic dative. 'Then let me see one of these gentlemen,' &c.

ius de tergo seems to be a condensed expression for *ius de tergo sumendi supplicii.*

penes, 24. 2.

c. xxx. § 1. **rursus,** of a counteracting fact or consideration, a reversal of what has gone before, without any idea of repetition as it more usually has. Cf. i. 59. 6, Caes. B. G. v. 44. 6.

utique. c. 27. 7.

putabant sententiam. The reading of the MSS. for which *putabant esse eam* and *improbabant* or *repudiabant sententiam* have been suggested.

fidem, 'credit,' in commercial sense, i.e. that which makes people trust one another.

utroque, adverb, 'going to no excess in either direction.'

§ 2. **rerum privatarum.** The senators being probably some of the principal creditors.

factione, 'party feeling.' So *officium*, 'sense of duty,' *verum*, 'love of truth,' objective for subjective. Potts' Hints, &c., p. 32.

prope fuit ut. c. 23. 2.

§ 4. **imperii vis.** The MSS. reading is *imperio suo vehemens*, which some editors retain, inserting *magistratus*, 'that the excessively powerful instrument of the dictatorial office might be put into humane hands.'

mansueto is properly used of tamed animals, then transferred to men.

§ 5. **provocationem.** c. 8. 2.

§ 6. **Servilii.** c. 24. 6.

sed either implies an ellipse, 'though Servilius had not fulfilled his promises,' or is opposed to *confirmavit animos*, which may mean 'increased their confidence in themselves,' the edict being so far a confession of weakness on the part of the Senate. It seems hardly possible that *sed et* should mean here what it frequently does, 'and not only so, but.'

§ 9. **defendi...pati.** The change of subject is noticeable.

§ 10. **et ipse.** That is, he wished to bring the enemy to a decisive engagement at once, as Vetusius had not done.

§ 11. **castra**, plural, as frequently. **quisque.** c. 20. 12.

§ 12. **contemptim.** Livy is very fond of these adverbs in *im;* besides the ordinary ones he uses, *caesim*, *carptim*, *catervatim*, *coniunctim*, *cursim*, *manipulatim*, *pagatim*, *punctim*, *summatim.*

pilis. In the earliest times, the *pilum* was confined to the Triarii, cf. c. 27. 6. The other troops were armed with the *hasta.* But by the time of the war with Pyrrhus this had been reversed, and the two front divisions used the *pilum* and the Triarii the *hasta.* When this began it is impossible to say, but the change of weapons seems to be intimately connected with the change from the close phalanx to the manipular legion.

§ 13. **micare**, a sort of zeugma; *viderunt* is supplied from *sensere.*

§ 14. **adepti**, 'overtaking.' Cf. 64. 4.

c. xxxi. § 1. **exuitque.** Some editors omit the *que.* In either case, *fundit fugatque* is to be regarded as one expression to which *exuit* is joined by *que*, or appended asyndeton.

§ 2. **turbatos.** c. 25. 5.

dum...pandunt. Young scholars will notice the ordinary idiom of the indicative after *dum* in narrative. *Dum* here, as frequently, has not only its temporal sense, but a sort of causal sense as well. The action and its consequence are regarded simply as concurrent actions. Roby, Lat. Gr., Sch. Ed., p. 283.

introrsum, &c. Cf. xxxii. 17. 8, *Conferti*, *pluribus introrsus ordinibus acie firmata*, where *pl. intr. ord.* explains *conferti.*

§ 3. **super** = 'in addition to,' 'over and above,' first found in Livy in this sense. i. 50. 6, *alii super alios trucidantur*, where the half literal, half metaphorical sense suggests the origin of the usage.

§ 5. **extrahi.** Cf. 23. 13.

abiret. A general term for retiring from an office, whether at the expiration of the term of it, or otherwise. Cf. Cic. in Pisonem iii., *abiens magistratu*, and comp. 32. 11.

The dictatorship lasted only for six months. The soldiers accused the consul of wishing to protract the war until M. Valerius, who was inclined to deal fairly with the plebs, should be no longer in office and consequently unable to perform his promises.

forte temere. 'Trusting to providence.' The words are asyndeta. So *forte casu*, *clam furtim*. (In *nocte silentio* and similar phrases, quoted here by Müller, the one adverb rather explains the other.) Asyndeton in *one* pair of words is most usual in, if not confined to, cases where the two words are associated by meaning or usage.

erigeret, 'to march the army straight up the mountain.' So i. 27. 6.

§ 6. **ignavia.** c. 4. 3.

ad coniectum teli, within range. So *ad* and *sub ictum* teli venire.

§ 8. **actionum.** 'In his very first address to the Senate pleaded the cause of the victorious people and moved "that the Senate do consider the case of insolvent debtors."'

Actio, as used here, is the substantive of *ago* in its use *agere cum aliquo*, and means the speech made in support of a proposal submitted to any one, especially to the people in *comitia*. Equally it is used of the speech of an advocate to a jury. From the use of *pro populo*, it would seem as if Livy here had the forensic sense of the word in his mind as well as the parliamentary. In the phrase *tribuniciae actiones*, which frequently occurs, the word has the same meaning, but a little wider, and corresponds very nearly to the modern 'agitations,' that is, meetings held and speeches made in order to elicit a demonstration of public opinion. Comp. also iii. 20. 1.

The words *ea de re quid fieri placet* were the formula by which the president invited discussion.

§ 9. **reiecta**, 'shelved.' The expression corresponds to our parliamentary expression, 'to move the previous question:' different from the other use noticed, 22. 5.

auctor. c. 1. 4.

§ 11. **suam**, sc. *plebis*, 'on their account,' because the *plebs* are the virtual subject.

quin. The phrase *per aliquem stare* is followed by *ne quominus* and *quin*, the last only when it is negative.

c. xxxii. § 1. **coetus.** c. 28. 1.

in verba, 'had sworn to obey,' 'had taken the military oath to.' The expression is formed from the repeating of the oath by the soldier after the person dictating it. Comp. 24. 7, lit. 'to swear word by word.'

per causam. Cf. c. 11. 2.

§ 2. **Sacrum montem**, c. 13. 11. The name is an anachronism, strictly speaking. It was given when the hill was consecrated to Jupiter, on the return of the Plebs.

§ 3. **frequentior**, 'better supported.'

Piso. Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, consul B.C. 133, wrote a history of Rome from the earliest times.

§ 4. **sumendo**, very nearly = a present participle. c. 9. 1.

§ 5. **metuque**, 'mutual apprehension and nervous suspense prevailed everywhere.'

§ 7. **per aequa, per iniqua**, adverbs asyndeta; so *serius ocius*, &c., c. 31. 5. Comp. c. 11. 2.

§ 8. **Agrippam.** Cicero, Brut. xiv. 54, represents Valerius, still dictator, as the mediator on this occasion. Livy himself says, viii. 18. 12, that during the secession a dictator was in office.

oriundus. c. 9. 1.

horrido, the original sense of the word 'rough,' transferred to a style of speaking. Cf. Cic. Brut. lxvii. 237, *horrida oratio*, 'unpolished, uncouth.'

§ 10. **hac ira.** c. 3. 5.

c. xxxiii. § 1. **in condiciones.** Cf. c. 15. 2.

sacrosancti, explained iii. 55. 7, *Ut qui tribunus plebis... nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset.* Comp. note on 8. 2.

auxilii latio. On the powers of the Tribunes see Mommsen, i. 280 fol.

§ 2. **plebei**, gen. of *plebes*, written also *plebi*, and common esp. in such phrases as this. From the form *plebs* the gen. *plebis* is formed, also frequently used.

§ 3. **sunt qui.** The tradition here alluded to is adopted by Cic. de Rep. ii. 34. 59, and seems more probable, because the Tribunes were evidently intended to be the counterpart of the patrician consuls. Dionysius however gives the number as five originally, vi. 89.

§ 4. **ictum.** Livy has also *icit*, *icisse*, and *icturi foedus*, otherwise he uses *ferio*. The phrase is said to be a *constructio ad sensum*, the striking of the victim implying the conclusion of the treaty, and the verb being constructed accordingly. As regards the treaty cf. 41. 1; Mommsen, i. 349.

§ 5. **consilio, &c.** 'Ready of resource, and prompt in action.'

§ 6. **forte in statione,** 'happened to be in command of the outpost in that quarter.' Cf. c. 10. 3.

§ 7. **rettudit.** Not common. xxxiii. 31. 8, *Aetolorum linguas retundere.* Compare the use of 'bang' in Shakespeare, Othello, Act ii. Sc. i.

ignem. It is not absolutely patent from the narrative, where he got the fire from.

§ 8. **ad terrorem,** 'as the alarm spread.' Cf. c. 8. 8.

utpote. With abl. abs. Not unfrequent in Livy. In Cicero used only with relative or conjunctional clauses, *utpote qui*, *cum*, &c. So Livy uses *quippe*, iii. 63. 2. Compare the similar use of *tanquam*, *velut*, *ut*, &c. The use is an extension of Latin construction in the direction of Greek.

§ 9. **foedus.** This treaty is mentioned by Cicero (pro Balbo, 23) as extant in his time.

monumento esset. 'Had recorded the fact,' viz. that Cominius had carried on a war with the Volsci.

§ 11. **interpreti.** Used in its simplest sense of a mediator. Verg. Aen. iv. 356, *Interpres Divom.*

arbitro, derived from *ad* and *bito*=*eo*, means a person who goes to something to see or hear it, (1) as a witness; (2) as commissioner to hear and decide a controversy, 'umpire.'

sumptus. Comp. 16. 7. This habit of dying without sufficient property to pay funeral expenses appears to have been almost *de rigueur* with the more conspicuous benefactors of ancient Rome. It is the converse of the proverbial half-crown, the basis of so much prosperous adventure in England.

sextantibus, prob. an anachronism, as coined money began later than this in Rome.

c. xxxiv. § 2. **qualis.** 'Equal to that of a besieged town.'

§ 3. **utique.** c. 27. 7.

in Etruriam. 'Along the coasts to the right from Ostia and down the sea on the left (from Ostia), along the Volscian (and Campanian) coasts as far as Cumae.' The local ablatives signify the local sphere within which the action took place.

§ 4. **Aristodemo.** c. 21. 5.

§ 6. **Velitris.** c. 31. 4.

in montes, 'among the mountains.' The Latin idiom expresses the general locality and the special point towards which the motion is directed, in apposition, one explaining the other.

§ 9. **annonam,** 'prices.'

ego. Some MSS. have *ergo*, which Weissenb. and Müller adopt. *Ego* seems far preferable.

sub iugum, figurative. That is, the plebs have treated us as robbers treat their victims, and extorted the most shameful concessions from us, as the price of our lives.

§ 10. **tertio anno.** The omission of *ante* or *abhinc* is very unusual.

rapuere, an exaggeration. See c. 32. 4.

§ 12. **haud tam.** 'It is not easy to say whether it was the right thing to do, but I believe that it would have been quite possible,' &c., an irregularly constructed comparison. The easiness of paying, &c., is not equal to my belief, &c. *Haud tam* is unusual for *non* or *haudquaquam tam*.

iura, the restrictions on their own powers. Lit. rights (of the plebeians) imposed on the patricians. *imposita*, in accordance with the sense implied of burden or obligation on the *patres*.

demerent sibi. *sibi* belongs to *demerent* in the second clause only, corresponding to *tribunis* implied in *tribuniciam* in the first: 'To take away the Tribunician power and rid *themselves* of &c.' For this latter use of *demo* compare *demere iniuriam*, iv. 10. 6.

c. xxxv. § 1. **de tergo.** Cf. c. 29. 12.

§ 2. **diem dixissent.** Under the *lex sacrata* (33. 1) which Coriolanus had broken virtually.

ibi, temporal, as often in Livy.

§ 3. **infensa,** adverbial. Cf. iii. 41. 1, iv. 9. 8, *acrior coorta*. On *infensus* and *coorior* see c. 20. 3 and c. 17. 2. 'So bitter was the feeling shown in this outburst of popular anger.'

defungendum. Used absolutely. *poena* is abl. of instrument, or price.

§ 4. **adversa invidia.** Abl. absol. 'In the face of public opinion.'

qua...qua = *et...et*. Used by Cicero, but only in letters. Prob. a conversationalism.

disiicere. 'To disconcert their plans,' lit. 'to burst, scatter in different directions the thing.'

§ 5. **quicquid.** &c. Comp. c. 5. 7, 11. 4. This use of *quicquid* with gen. is poetical.

innocentem...pro nocente. The first the fact, the second the plebeian's view of the case. 'If they would not acquit him of an offence of which he was guiltless, then let them call him guilty, but,' &c.

§ 6. **iam tum.** Prop. signifies the exact time of an occurrence in past time, but here used simply to emphasize *tum*, 'even then.'

spiritus is stronger than *animos.*

§ 7. **infestus.** c. 17. 2.

§ 8. **in.** c. 3. 2.

c. xxxvi. § 1. **ludi magni**, or *Romani*, according to tradition (i. 35) instituted by Tarquinius Priscus; originally *votivi*, that is, performed in fulfilment of a special vow, they became annual. Properly speaking, the name *Romani* belonged to the fixed festival, *magni* to extraordinary ones of a similar kind, but the epithets are used promiscuously.

ex instauratione. A re-celebration of a festival became necessary when any informality had occurred in the regular celebration.

ex. This simple adv. use of *ex* and *abl.* seems to be a Graecism. Cf. ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς, &c.

caesum has a sort of present passive sense. Cf. xxx. 30. 19, *melior tutiorque est certa pax quam* sperata *victoria*, and, *simul parta ac sperata decora.* Cicero gives this story de Divin. i. 26. 55. His account explains these words, *sub...circo.* Servus per circum, *cum virgis caederetur*, furcam ferens ductus est. The *furca* was an instrument of wood made in the shape of a Greek Λ. Into this the head of the slave was placed and his hands tied to the wooden sides. He was then flogged through the public streets. Hence *furcifer.*

§ 2. **praesultatorem.** Cic. l. c. *praesulem sibi non placuisse. praesultator* is only used here. *praesul* in its first signification means one who leads a dance, used, in particular, of the leader of the Salii in their religious dance.

in ora abiret = the more usual *in ora* or *sermonem hominum venire*. Comp. the later use of *abire*, 'to end in,' 'pass into.'

§ 4. **praesentior,** 'touched him more nearly,' so xxiv. 32. 3, *propius praesentiusque malum.*

§ 5. **enimvero.** c. 22. 6.

§ 6. **repraesentatas,** 'embodied,' 'realised,' 'represented,' in the proper sense of the word as Lamb uses 'representment.' Essays of Elia. 'So vividly set before him.' Horace, Ep. i. 19. 4, *Virtutemne repraesentet* ('reproduce') *moresque Catonis?*

§ 7. **admiratione.** c. 12. 1.

c. xxxvii. § 3. **arbitris.** Cf. c. 33. 11.

sequius. Comp. of *secus*, which does not occur as adj. in pos., 'worse,' here in the sense of 'little to the credit of;' a Graecism. Comp. use of ἄλλως, 'wrongly.'

§ 8. **sub auctore.** 'On such excellent authority,' an extension of the use of *sub* in such phrases as *sub nomine*, &c., not found in Cicero.

vel, 'even.'

ex. Cf. c. 36. 1.

supervacuo, unusual form of the more usual *supervacaneus.*

§ 9. **consceleratos,** with esp. reference to *hominum*, **contaminatos** to *deorum.*

quodam modo, also written in one word, indicates that the view taken is an extreme one, though justifiable. 'In a sense.'

c. xxxviii. § 1. **caput Ferentinum,** otherwise *caput aquae Ferentinae* (i. 51. 9), lay on what was afterwards the Appian Road. In the grove at the source of the stream, the Latins held their assemblies.

querendo. c. 9. 1.

secunda irae. Comp. Ovid, '*Neu dubites illi verba secunda loqui.*'

§ 2. **adversus,** inserted by Madvig to supply the gap in the construction. Weissenb. retains the MSS. reading unaltered and treats the sentence as a sort of rhetorical anacoluthon intended to give bitter emphasis to the words *veteres...Volscorum.*

ut, 'though.'

per. c. 11. 2.

§ 3. **an**, &c., rhetorical use of *an*, to suggest an impossible alternative, and prove the truth of the speaker's view by *reductio ad absurdum.* The alternative here is, *non sensistis*, 'Is it possible that you have failed to &c.?' Comp. c. 2. 2.

traductos per ora, 'made a spectacle of,' a sense derived from triumphal processions, and the parading of criminals through the streets. Cf. Martial, i. 53. 3, *Quae tua traducit, manifesto carmina furto*, and for the literal use Livy xxxvi. 40. 11, *Cum captivis nobilibus equorum quoque captorum gregem traduxit.*

§ 4. **putatis**, rhetorical use, pretty nearly='what must have been,' &c.

merituri, an unusual expression for *piaculum committere* or *contrahere.* The sense is 'to deserve punishment for' and so 'to be guilty of.'

§ 5. **succurrit.** Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 317.

maturarimus. Subj. dept. on *vivere. quod* more usual than *quia* in subjective sentence.

si hoc. Cf. c. 10. 2.

et=Gk. εἶτα. 'And after this.' 22. 3.

magno malo. c. 12. 1.

§ 6. **suos quisque**, &c. c. 7. 1.

c. xxxix. § 2. **Circeios.** i. 56. 3, *Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit* (Tarquinius) *praesidia urbi futura terra marique.*

§ 3. **tramitibus**, 'by-roads,' as opp. to (*viae*) high-roads. Cic. Phil. xiii. 9. 19, *Egressus est non viis, sed tramitibus.*

novella, an unusual word, but occurring again Livy xl. 5. 1. It has been suggested to read *Mugillam*, a town mentioned by Dionys. viii. 36 as having been captured by Coriolanus.

haec. This use of *hic* and *is* in summing up is common in Cicero, esp. after a list of abstract qualities. Cf. pro Arch. c. 1.

§ 4. **Lavicos.** *Labici*, *Labicum* or *Lavicum*, which gave its name afterwards to the *via Lavicana*, lay about 15 miles southeast of Rome.

§ 5. **a Pedo.** Livy frequently prefixes the preposition to the names of towns, motion from which is expressed, contrary to the rule observed by the older prose writers.

fossas. Cf. i. 23. 3 for the traditional origin of the name.

millia, accusative of distance, as the space *traversed* between the two points. So *fossa decem pedes alta*, &c.

§ 6. **sive...sive...** Cf. i. 4. 2, *seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat.* The form is Graecising.

oreretur. Both forms of this verb are found in the same MSS. of Livy.

§ 7. **sed** for the more usual *nisi.*

c. xl. § 1. **parum.** c. 18. 4.

§ 2. **magno natu.** c. 8. 4.

§ 3. **ut qui**, 'as was to be expected, seeing that.'

offusa. Livy has also *pavorem, terrorem, errorem offundere.* The metaphor is derived probably from the use of *offundo* with *lucem*, Cic. de Fin. iii. 14. 45. Livy has also *caliginem off.* 'The man who could not be moved by the majesty of the State represented in her ambassadors, or by the splendour of sanctity appealing to heart and eye in the forms of the priests, naturally was still less inclined to be moved by weeping women.'

§ 5. **consternatus**, 'in strong emotion,' to be construed with *a sede.*

§ 7. **infesto.** c. 17. 2.

§ 8. **ergo.** c. 7. 8.

ego, emphatic, opp. to *de his.*

diu. 'Nor shall I live long enough to reach the lowest depths of misery.' *diu* is relative.

§ 9. **de his**, 'think of these.' *Videris* appears to be used here simply as = imperat. i. 58. 10, quoted as parallel here by editors, is rather different. The nom. of pers. pron. is there expressed, and the use of *videro* is that of transferring responsibility from one person to another. See Mayor on Cic. Philipp. ii. § 118. *Virginius viderit*, iii. 45. 11, is an instance of this latter use.

amplexi, sc. *eum.*

§ 11. Fabius Pictor, the oldest historian of Rome, served in the Gallic war of 224. He wrote his history originally in Greek.

§ 12. **monumento.** 'To commemorate it.' Cf. 33. 9.

§ 13. **fortuna.** c. 4. 3.

§ 14. **provincia**, 'sphere of command or duty,' regular meaning of the sing. word in speaking of times before the provinces were formed and organised.

cum Volscis. Constructio ad sensum, *discessum est* implying *pugnatum est*.

c. XLI. § 1. foedus. Cf. c. 33. 5.

§ 2. **publicum.** On the public land, and the law of Sp. Cassius, see Mommsen, I. 276 and 288.

possessores, as applied to holders of domain land meant a tenant, but with a tenant-right that practically amounted to ownership. Such men acknowledged the state as landlord, and paid rent to the state, but they could never bring themselves to acknowledge the right of the state to terminate their occupancy. Mommsen, I. 276.

publica sollicitudo. The adjective is used much as the pronoun *is*, c. 3. 5.

struere, c. 3. 6.

§ 4. **vulgatum**, by being shared with the Latins.

a civibus, &c., epexegetical of *vulgatum*.

§ 5. **pestilens**, 'very dangerous.'

§ 7. **dissuasor**, c. 1. 4.

intercessor, used in a general sense of 'protesting against.'

dicere, hist. infin.

§ 8. **ambitiosus**, 'he had bid for popularity among the allies.'

Siculo. c. 34. 7. According to Dionysius, half the corn then brought, was a present from the tyrant of Syracuse.

§ 10. **peculium.** 'A grown-up son might establish a separate household or maintain, as the Romans expressed it, his "own cattle" (*peculium*) assigned to him by his father; but legally all that the son acquired...remained the father's property.' Mommsen, I. 61. This dependence of the son on the father could be cancelled by the form *emancipatio*.

§ 11. **quaestoribus**, sc. *parricidii*. These officials had existed under the kings, but after the establishment of the Republic, they became standing magistrates, nominated by the consul, and vacating their office at the end of the year. Mommsen, I. 56, 159, 261.

ea, c. 10. 2. The temple was built in B.C. 268, by P. Sempronius Sophus, consul, on the Carinae.

c. XLII. § 1. **subibat**, 'quickly took possession of.' *subeo* in this mental sense, signifies unperceived or unexpected entry into the mind. Comp. the adjectival participle, *subitus*.

malignitate. *malignus* acquired in addition to its original sense, that of niggardliness, which is the predominant meaning here. Cf. *sub luce maligna*, and Livy, VIII. 12, *ager maligne plebi divisus.*

§ 2. **tenuere** = *obtinuere* (c. 43. 11), 'carried their point.' The sense and construction are frequent in Livy.

§ 5. **Castori**, c. 20. 12.

duumvir. The dedication of a temple was normally the office of the officiating consul. But from very early times, it was the custom, in case the man who vowed the temple was not holding office at the time of its dedication, to appoint one or two commissioners (*duumvir* or *duumviri*) for the purpose. The election lay with the people, but the senate in referring the matter to them, named a person or persons, usually the man who had vowed the temple or his son. See Livy, XXIII. 30, and compare c. 27. 5, above.

§ 6. **plebi**, c. 33. 1.

celebrabant, conative imperfect, 'sought to strengthen the influence of.' *celebro* and *celeber* always imply large numbers in some connexion or other. Here the idea is to increase the number of warm supporters of their power.

que, c. 11. 1.

§ 8. **vana**, sc. *facta*. 'The bill was frustrated and its promoters stultified by loud professions which they were unable to fulfil.'

uno tenore implies an action going on in an uninterrupted and even course, not changing its direction in any way. It is not an uncommon phrase, but is not unfrequently qualified by *velut*, *ut aiunt*, &c.

expertos, used passively. There are several instances of this in other classical writers, and a large number in Livy. 'During which he had shown his temper in continual and consistent opposition to the attacks of the tribunes.'

§ 9. **supererant**, c. 27. 12. 'They might be said (*prope*) to have more strength than they needed for foreign wars alone.'

abutebanturque. These two sentences are expressed coordinately instead of by principal and subordinate. It is, in fact, one sentence in two. Therefore *que* is the coupling

particle, see on c. 11, and compare the sentence, c. 39. 10, *Acceperunt...rettulerunt.* In both cases there is an antithesis between the two members, the first corresponding to a clause introduced by a concessive particle; so that *que* may be translated by 'but' or 'only.' 'But they used up all the surplus.'

§ 10. **canebant.** The regular word of oracular or religious official response, because such responses were originally given in verse. Here there is perhaps added the force of 'repetition,' as in Gk. *ὑμνεῖν.*

extis...per aves, c. 24. 6.

§ 11. **qui...tamen**, c. 29. 4. The force of *tamen* here is that though these terrors had been excited by apprehension of some general religious faultiness, in the end they were allayed by the punishment of one individual.

poenas, by being buried alive.

c. xliii. § 2. **populationum**, not simply by metonymy for *praedae.* For *pleni* here is evidently intended to convey the sense, 'sick or tired of,' the feeling consequent on constant repetition of the same thing, like the Gk. *μεστός.*

§ 4. **potestatis**, objective genitive after *invidia.* That is, the whole feeling against this exercise of Tribunician power, roused by the action of Licinius.

auxilioque, see last chapter. The situation was this. When the consuls disregarding the intercession of the tribune Licinius proceeded to punish those who refused to serve, they did so on the strength of an assurance from the other tribunes that, in case Licinius proceeded against them for contempt of the tribunician authority, they (the other tribunes) would extend to the consuls the benefit of the *auxilii latio*, and veto such proceedings: a similar situation is described, iv. 53. 7.

§ 5. **et...quidem...Fabio**, c. 2. 9.

§ 6. **ipse consul.** Explained by *odio consulis* below. He was the very consul, hatred for whom made the army inclined to betray the state. By this arrangement, which is rather strained, Livy makes the antithesis more effective than if he had written, *Ipse consul cuius odio*, &c.

'He, the unpopular consul, by his unassisted vigour, sustained the fortunes of the state which the army for hatred of him were willing for their part to betray.'

§ 7. **artes**, 'qualities,' but implying the improvement by culture and education of special gifts.

§ 8. **nec illos, etsi, &c.** An elliptical sentence. They could not be induced to do that which, even if the appeal of the general had no effect upon them, *they might at least have done* from a regard for their own honour and safety, cf. Eurip. *Hec.* 796, *τύμβου δ', εἰ κτανεῖν ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἠξίωσεν*, i.e. *ὥσπερ ἔδει εἰ*, the least he could do if, &c.

si aliud nihil. 'The very least they could do.'

§ 9. **signa**, cf. 20. 10.

§ 10. **adeo**, c. 2. 7.

ingeniis comes near to the later concrete use of the words, like our word 'genius' for a 'man of genius.'

§ 11. **obtinuere ut**, c. 42. 2.

c. XLIV. § 1. **annus...habuit**, c. 4. 3.

velut, 'as if Sp. Licinius had succeeded.' *res procedit* is more common than the impersonal use.

§ 2. **re, exemplo.** Chiasmus. The antithesis below, *in praesentia* and *in posterum*, *futurum*, &c. is common, 'and the moral effects of that event would long outlive its actual occurrence,' 'a fact for that time only, but a precedent for future times.'

suis ipsam, more idiomatic than *ipsius*, 9. 5.

§ 3. **bono publico**, c. 1. 3.

auxilium, cf. 43. 4.

§ 4. **minus**, c. 18. 4.

§ 5. **iuris**, 'legal claims upon.' A tribune, for example, might be in debt to one or more of the consulars.

gratia...auctoritate, both mean personal influence, the first arising from obligation, the second from moral character.

§ 6. **novemque.** A slip apparently on Livy's part, he must have meant *quattuor*, c. 33. 2.

moratorem, c. 1. 4.

§ 8. **principesque**—*que* epexegetical. What follows is an expansion of the words, *in spem...posse.*

fremebant = *dictitabant*, with more emotion implied—'loudly asserted'—more commonly indignation is expressed.

ut, final. The purpose answered by the appointment (by the gods) of this drawback to the prosperity of great cities.

§ 10. **qualicunque.** This use of the indef. relative without a verb, on the model of the Gk. ὁστισοῦν, &c. is exceedingly rare in Cicero—(*quivis* is hardly in point)—but common in Livy.

sisti. c. 29. 8.

potuisse: because he is speaking of what was possible no longer. The English idiom requires the past tense of the infin., so *oportuit dicere*, 'he ought to have said;' but *oportuit dixisse*, 'he ought (at some time previous to the statement) to have finished speaking;' *oportet dixisse*, 'he ought now to have finished speaking;' *oportet dicere*, 'he ought now to speak.'

non parendi, &c., 'insubordination.'

§ 12. **spes armaverant.** c. 4. 3.

c. xlv. § 1. **rem committerent eo**, 'to run the risk of fighting with equal danger to apprehend from both armies.' *eo* = in id. Cf. *committere rem in aciem*, *in casum*, &c. The idea of *committo* in these phrases is to launch or embark a thing on a certain course, to set a thing a going and let it pass out of one's control in a certain direction. So the verb gets the meaning of 'entrusting, &c.' Comp. c. 47 and iii. 4. 7.

§ 3. **qua...qua.** c. 35. 4.

§ 4. **confidere...credere.** 'The consuls did not mistrust the soldiers: they could not depend upon them:' the antithesis of the two words, 'to depend (on the courage)' and 'to believe (in the loyalty)' is really made by the context.

§ 5. **indignatio versare.** c. 4. 3.

non...non. Emphatic repetition of the negative instead of conjunctions.

§ 7. **capita conferunt.** Not used elsewhere by Livy, but used by Cic. Acad. iii. 12. 31.

semel with part. = *ut semel* with verb, 'now that they were once thoroughly roused.'

§ 10. **quippe**, not unlike *enimvero*, introduces a statement the truth of which becomes obvious as soon as it is made; with relative, *quia*, *quod*, &c. it introduces an obvious reason. *quippe* is subjective rather than objective, *enimvero* the reverse.

§ 11. **sensim**, 'indirectly,' feeling one's way, as it were, in a transaction, by employing another person to act for one.

passim, 'anyhow.' Clamouring in all directions, without any attempt at order or concerted action.

tergiversantur. 'They temporised.' Cf. 27. 3. The idea is of a man shifting his position to avoid something disagree-

able, 'shuffling.' *Tergiversatio*, in law, was the offence committed by an accuser, when from corrupt motives he abandoned a prosecution. It is a favourite word with Cicero.

§ 12. **ne scirem.** *Ne* is final, not consecutive, which it never is. 'They have taken pains to prevent my knowing.'

§ 13. **flagitator.** c. 1. 4. 'Among the loudest in his demands to be led to battle.'

§ 14. **in se,** adaptation of the formula *idem in me.* Cf. 24. 7.

iuratis, one of not a few pass. participles used in an active or middle sense. Cf. *iniuratus*, 46. 6. So also *pransus* and *epotus.* Compare *adultus*, *fluxus*, *tacitus.*

c. XLVI. § 1. **occasione ancipiti,** 'with opportunities on both sides of them,' that is, either of murdering their leaders or deserting to the enemy.

§ 2. **infestior.** c. 20. 3.

§ 3. **pilis.** c. 30. 12.

inter primam, &c. 'Before the combatants could settle to their work,' lit. 'among the first hurrying about.' Cf. 20. 9.

abiectis, &c. 'Flung anyhow rather than discharged.'

§ 4. **principem,** 'at the head of his troops.'

praeceps in vulnus, lit. 'passed away headlong into his wound.' *In vulnus* qualifies both *praeceps* and *abiit*, the former expresses the attitude of the falling man, the latter his departure from life. 'Falling with his head on his wounded breast, expired.' So I. 58. 12, *Prolapsaque in vulnus* (corresponding to *praeceps in vulnus* here) *moribunda cecidit.* Verg. Aen. x. 448, *corruit in vulnus.*

c. XLVII. § 1. **ciebat.** Cf. c. 19. 7.

fortuna est versata. Personification. c. 4. 3.

§ 3. **citato.** c. 10. 3.

rem inclinatam, metaphor from scales, 'restored the balance of the fight,' or less literally 'rallied the wavering lines.'

§ 4. **vanior,** 'weakened,' lit. 'less substantial,' metaphor from things hollow, not solid. Comp. I. 8, *ne* vana *esset urbis magnitudo*, 'a mere shell, with nothing inside it.'

§ 5. **memores.** c. 2. 3, 22. 2.

triarii. It was the duty of the *triarii* during an action to protect the camp. It is possible that in the earliest times, this was their only duty, and that they did not serve in the field with the rest of the army at all.

§ 6. **ea desperatio.** c. 3. 5 and 4. 3.

magis quam expresses (as often, e.g. 46. 3) the greater appropriateness of a less usual than a more usual term to the action described. 'Something more like madness than boldness.'

§ 10. **si exercitus,** cf. xlv. 38. 3, *erratis si triumphum imperatoris tantum et non militum quoque...esse decus censetis.*

eo bello, frequently used as an attribute of a subst., e.g. xxxvii. 49. 2, *exprobrantes virtutem suam in Philippi bello.*

familia funesta. c. 8. 7.

lauream, synecdoche for *triumphus*, the laurel crown being the ornament of the triumphing general.

§ 11. **in tempore,** 'at the right time.'

laudator, c. 1. 4, 'pronouncing the funeral oration in both cases.' The *laudatio funebris* in the Forum was a regular part of public funerals.

§ 12. **eius,** neut. gen.: not an unfrequent use in Livy.

imbiberat, of an idea or resolve fixed in the mind, cf. 58. 6. Cic. pro Quint. *si...imbiberit eius modi rationibus illum ad suas conditiones perducere*—a metaphor from dyeing, like *combibo.*

c. xlviii. § 1. **primo quoque.** Roby, Lat. Gr., Sch. Ed. p. 344.

§ 2. **quisquam,** rather in app. to *tribunus* than qualifying it, though *quisquam* in Livy is sometimes used adjectively.

verum, 'fair,' Horace, Epp. i. vii. 98, *metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.*

§ 3. **luxuriare,** cf. c. 21. 6. Here the metaphor, from a plant growing rank, is rather differently applied: 'was running to seed,' the point, as *evanescere* shows, being the weakness produced, rather than the excess itself.

§ 5. **in tempore,** c. 47. 11.

§ 6. **tota,** 'altogether'—adverbial use.

§ 7. **averti alio,** 'to concentrate their attention on other matters.' *alio* adv.

§ 8. **auctores sumus,** 'we guarantee;' *auctor esse* with acc. and infin. is more frequently 'to be the authority for a statement.'

c. XLIX. § 3. **paludatus**, the dress of a general in the field.

§ 4. **ducem**, cf. Ovid, Fasti, II. 200, *E quis dux fieri quilibet aptus erat.* The whole passage, l. c. vv. 193—242.

senatus, that is, they might have formed the Senate of Rome in the most critical times.

pestem, 'destruction,' cf. *pestilens*, c. 41. 5.

§ 5. **nihil medium**, 'filled with no ordinary thoughts, but divided between extremes of hope and apprehension,' lit. 'revolving in the mind nothing half-way, either hope or fear (in loose apposition to *nihil medium*), but boundless thoughts whatever they were.'

stupens, 'overpowered,' used, as frequently, to express the feelings of one under the influence of some overpowering emotion, which deprives him for the time being of the use of his powers of reflection.

§ 6. **felices** has its regular military meaning of 'successful.' On *felicitas* as a quality necessary to a general, see Cic. de Imp. Pomp. c. 16.

§ 7. **Capitolium arcemque**, the N. E. and S. W. summits of the Capitoline hill, but which was which, is still a matter of anxious debate among archaeologists.

alia templa, with reference to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline.

quicquid, c. 35. 5.

faustum...felix. The regular combination in such prayers. Two aspects of the same idea. *Faustum* is that which is done under the blessing (favere) of the gods. *Felix* that which succeeds in consequence of having the blessing of the gods upon it.

§ 8. **incassum**, found in poets, in Sallust and later prose writers, but not in Cicero, is stronger than *frustra* or *nequidquam*, signifying hopeless failure, lit. 'ending in emptiness.'

infelici is an anachronism, because it was in consequence of the route of the Fabii that this gate became ill-omened. The Porta Carmentalis, the right arch of which was known as *scelerata*, opened out of the wall between the Capitoline and the river, see Ovid l. c.

iano, 'archway:' all archways were symbolical of and sacred to Janus, as pointing two opposite ways; hence they came to be called *iani*.

§ 9. **omnia**, with the use of *omnia* cf. *immensa omnia* above. It implies that the epithet is true of that to which it is applied, without exception, e.g. *alia omnia sentire*, &c.—'to differ absolutely.'

infesta, 'dangerous.'

§ 10. **cominus...acie**, 'in a pitched battle,' opp. to *populationibus* and *vagantes.*

quanquam. This retrospective use of *quanquam* (the apodosis being really contained in what precedes) introducing a drawback or correction of what has just been stated, is a rhetorical use. It is common in Cicero, in Livy, as a rule, it is confined to speeches. It is very frequently followed by an interrogative sentence. Roby, Lat. Gr., Sch. Ed. 871, § 6.

§ 11. **inter primam**, c. 46. 3.

signa, c. 20. 10. The Roman battle order is applied to the Veientines.

ordines, the accusative after *introeunt.*

§ 12. **saxa Rubra** (otherwise *Rubrae*) lay on the Via Flaminia, between Rome and Narnia, about 9 miles from the former. It derived its name from the red tufa rocks of the neighbourhood.

ab, c. 14. 3, 'with the capriciousness that belonged to their race.'

c. l. § 2. **ex civitate...tulit**, comp. the expression, *reportare triumphum, victoriam, laudem*, &c., *a* or *ex aliquo.* The idea in both cases is that of bringing back the results of victory.

§ 3. **ex re**, 'demanded by circumstances,' lit. 'arising out of the state of things.' So *ex re* means 'advantageous,' 'suitable to the occasion;' Plaut. *ex tua non est ut ego moriar;* Hor. Sat. ii. vi. 78, *Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit aniles ex re fabellas;* and *e republica* = in the interests of the Republic.

§ 4. **velut** = *velut si*, as often, e.g. c. 36. 1.

§ 5. **invicta**, c. 1. 4. *Invicta* here is part of the predicate, not merely attribute of *arma*, 'being invincible,' 'were invincible *and* could not be withstood at any time, or in any place.'

spes, c. 4. 3.

rara, 'here and there.'

§ 6. **superassent**, 'had passed,' a sense derived probably from 'surmounting,' and so 'passing' hills, &c.

ut fit, c. 4. 5.

§ 8. **multiplicatis.** 'The ranks of the latter multiplying as their circle was contracted.' As the Etruscans closed in, narrowing their circle, the front of the lines was diminished, and the number of them, one behind the other, consequently increased. *multiplicatis* therefore is equivalent in sense to *densatis.*

§ 9. **omissa,** &c. 'Giving up the idea of resisting, as they had been preparing to do, equally on all sides.' *parem* adverbial. *Intendere pugnam* is 'to stretch out fighting in a certain direction,' not unlike our expression 'to show fight.'

eo nisi. 'Concentrating their attack on that point.' So *in derectum niti. Nitor* and its compounds (e.g. *conitor*) mean 'to use all one's strength.'

§ 10. **vincebat.** Cf. c. 10. 2.

Veiens. c. 20. 12.

§ 11. **stirpem.** Sc. *futuram,* 'to keep alive.'

auxilium. Cf. Ovid, l. c., *Scilicet ut posses olim tu, Maxime, nasci, cui res cunctando restituenda foret.*

c. LI. § 2. **ad Spei.** II. 7. 11.

§ 3. **parvo.** 'Although the advantage gained by the Romans was very slight.' Metaphor from balance, 'superior by a trifling inclination of the balance.' Comp. c. 7. 10.

§ 4. **velut ab,** &c., i.e. *a Ianiculo velut ab arce.* Cf. Cic. Tusc. v. 32. 90, *quare ut ad quietum me licet venias.*

§ 5. **dedita opera** qualifies *propulsa.*

§ 7. **nonnihil et,** adv. 'to a certain extent, no doubt.' Livy also has *haud nihil.* I. 3.

quamvis qualifies *praecipitia.* 'Drove them to adopt any expedients, however reckless, provided they were prompt.'

§ 8. **erexit.** c. 31. 5.

§ 9. **occidione occisi,** 'cut to pieces,' used by Cicero. The repetition expresses the entire destruction. The abl. is modal.

c. LII. § 1. **laxior.** So *laxandi annonam,* 34. 12. The opposite is *arta.* Compare our use of the word *tight* in regard to the money market. The metaphor is a natural and obvious one in any language.

§ 2. **suo.** 'Their own special poison.' For the metaphor comp. c. 44. 8.

§ 3. **diem dicunt.** On the jurisdiction of the tribunes and the connexion of it with the plebeian assembly see Mommsen, I. 281 and c. 56. 3 n. It evidently rapidly extended beyond cases of appeal and violations of the laws establishing the tribunate.

invidiae. Livy does not state distinctly what the charge was, but leaves it to be inferred that he was accused of deserting the Fabii, when he might have assisted them.

§ 5. **capitis.** Condensed use for *criminis capitalis.* In these phrases the gen. and abl. are both used. Very prob. in the gen. there is an ellipse of an original *crimine.*

aeris. Livy apparently means 2000 asses; but it is a question whether coined money existed before the decemviral legislation. Mommsen, I. 458.

in caput. 'This was his death-warrant.' Lit. 'This turned (*verto* intrans.) into a sentence of death.' *caput* here = *poena capitalis*, as above, *crimen capitale.*

c. LIII. § 1. **quibus.** κατὰ σύνεσιν, agreeing with *Veientibus* implied in *Veiens bellum.*

Latinorum...auxiliis. c. 33. 4.

alia. Abl.

manipulatim. Used generally: 'in small bodies.' Cf. 30. 11.

§ 2. **tanquam.** 'Under the impression that their city itself was in the hands of the enemy.' For the position of *ita* here comp. XLII. 59. 2, *Haud secus quam diu claustris retentae ferae, ita concitati...incurrerunt.*

§ 3. **signis.** c. 20. 10.

eques. c. 20. 12.

§ 5. **ab Roma.** c. 39. 5.

§ 6. **calamitatis,** 'injury,' 'damage.' The root of the word is the same as that of *incolumis*, prob. the same as Gk. σκολ-, signifying 'plucking,' which appears without the σ in κόλος, 'docked' and κολούω. κοσκυλμάτια 'shreds,' and *quisquiliae* 'refuse,' 'rubbish,' are from the same root.

c. LIV. § 2. **arripuit,** 'arrested.' III. 58. 7. More strictly used of the officer, *viator* or *lictor*, e.g. 27. 12.

§ 3. **rei ad populum.** Summoned to take their trial before the plebeian *Comitia tributa.* c. 52. 3, and 56. 3 n.

§ 4 **infulis,** with which victims were adorned for sacrifice.

§ 5. **iam nunc.** Cf. 35. 6. For *ita* anticipating a subst. clause cf. xxxiv. 34. 2, *Iam nunc hoc ita proponere vos animis oportet hibernandum circa Lacedaemonis moenia esse.*

ab. *Tribunicia potestas* is personified, hence the preposition.

§ 6. **si se commoverit.** 'If he (the Consul) stirred a finger.' *movere* is used absolutely without *se*, xlii. 64. 9, *Qui postquam nihil movebant.*

§ 7. **seductaque.** Cf. 11. 1. *seductaque*, &c. explains *in privato*, 'where the general public could not obtain access or information.' Lit. 'withdrawn from the privity of the larger number of people.'

quamvis. c. 51. 7.

§ 9. **quam nihil,** &c. 'How absolutely powerless the holy laws were to protect them.'

§ 10. **malo.** 'Suffering.' Comp. 34. 11.

c. lv. § 1. **sub.** Of immediate succession in time. With the ablative *sub* expresses the time or occasion as influencing the action, but is rarer and more poetical. Weissenborn and Müller prefer the abl. here, which is the MS. reading. *Hanc* is the emendation of Gronovius adopted by Madvig.

§ 3. **lictores.** See Mommsen, iii. 349 n.

contemptius, more contemptible. c. 1. 4.

si sint. If only there were men to realise it, viz. the weakness and insignificance of the lictors.

facere, viz. by being afraid of them.

§ 4. **ordines.** c. 23. 4.

militem, that is, as a common soldier.

§ 5. **spoliari,** to be stripped. So viii. 32. 10.

§ 8. **sanctum,** 'inviolable,' the first meaning of the adj.

§ 9. **exerceret.** Cf. vi. 22. 4, *foede in captis victoriam exercuere.*

c. lvi. § 1. **Voleronem...favore.** The hexameter rhythm is noticeable. Comp. i. pref. opening words, and xxii. 50. 10, *Haec ubi dicta dedit.*

§ 2. **vexandis,** is the dat. of aim after *permiss.*

permissurum. Metaphor from driving, 'to give a horse the rein,' iii. 61. 9, *concitant equos permittuntque in hostem.*

tributis. Up to this time, the tribunes had been elected by the *comitia curiata*. See below § 3.

§ 3. **atroci,** 'alarming,' *atrox* is connected with *ater* and gets its secondary meaning by metaphor from that which is 'dark, gloomy, threatening.'

sed quae, *sed* opp. to *haud parva*.

auferret, &c. Mommsen's explanation of this passage and c. 60. 4 is as follows: besides the patrician-plebeian *comitia curiata* and *tributa*, there was a separate assembly of plebeians in curies and tribes, not originally called *comitia*, but *concilium plebis curiatum* and *centuriatum*, dating from the time when they gained their separate officers. The tribunes were originally elected in the plebeian curiate assembly. In this, voting being by heads and not according to landed property, patricians' clients would have considerable influence. Livy however confuses these plebeian assemblies with the *comitia curiata* and *tributa* of the whole *populus* (patricians and plebeians). Hence he represents the patricians as excluded by the tribunes not because they had no right to vote, but because they were there for the purpose of obstruction, and further represents the exclusion of patricians from the *comitia tributa* as dating from this time. The assembly according to M.'s theory, from which the patricians were now, as they always had been excluded was not the *comitia tributa* proper but the *concilium plebis* in tribes, which afterwards came to be *called* the *comitia tributa*. The decrees of this plebeian assembly, he thinks, were from an early time *de facto* though not *de jure* binding on all the people, because of the powerful position of the tribunes, and in particular it assumed a criminal jurisdiction as the body before which the tribunes justified their acts. This jurisdiction he calls, rather happily, an organised lynch-law (regulisirte Lynchjustiz).

§ 4. **actioni.** Cf. 31. 8. The term was specially used of the transactions in the *comitia tributa*.

resisterent...posset, both governed by *cum* which in the latter case has a concessive force.

nec quae, emendation of MSS. *neque*.

quae una via...intercederet. Comp. c. 13. 4.

molimine a poetic word, in prose *moles* or *molumentum* are more usual. 'By the mere force of its inherent importance was carried over the year.'

§ 5. **ultimum dim.** c. 11. 4.

§ 6. **auctor**, of a man who proposes a law not originated by himself. So 44. 1, 42. 8.

§ 7. **is**, nom. to *contenderet* only, placed here as frequently to connect the sentence with the former.

ipse, as opposed to Volero, 'on *his* side,' 'for *his* part.'

§ 9. **quam**, the corresponding *tam* is omitted, as frequently in Livy. Cf. xxxv. 49. 7, *homo non quam isti sunt gloriosus.*

§ 10. **templum**, used in its wide sense of a place consecrated by inauguration, as all places of public business were. So the *Rostra* and the *Curia* are *templa.*

nobilitas, i.e. the patricians.

contione = the *comitia* in which the *lex* was to be proposed.

§ 12. **illum ipsum**, i.e. even a magistrate of the *populus* (the whole people, patricians and plebeians).

pro imperio. Authoritatively, as one entitled to command in virtue of his magistracy. Cf. Terence Phorm. 195 *Hem! satis pro imperio quisquis es.*

de iure disserendo, i.e. *disserendo de iure* (*tribunicio*). 'It was easy for the consul by a sneering exposition of the tribunician powers to irritate Laetorius.'

§ 13. **privatum.** The tribunes in the earliest times, were not strictly speaking magistrates. Their position was a negative one. They could not strictly speaking initiate judicial proceedings, though practically they did so, nor were the resolutions passed in their plebeian assembly legally binding, though practically recognised. They had no *imperium*, only *auxilium*, no *insignia* such as *lictors*, *fasces*, &c. no right to take auspices. They might be regarded legally as mere representatives or delegates of the plebs, though of course practically they were a great deal more. It is this discrepancy between the *legal* and *practical* position of the tribunes and their assemblies which makes the notices of them often so confusing. The laws, such as the *Hortensia*, which are supposed to have bestowed powers only probably confirmed legally powers that had practically existed almost from the beginning. See § 3.

c. LVII. § 2. **timor...ira.** c. 4. 3.

quo magis. 'As their passion had time to cool down and allow them to reflect calmly, they felt more and more averse, &c.' lit. 'The more, space being interposed, their minds were called away from bursting anger to deliberation, the more &c.'

§ 3. **tantam**, (only) so great. Cf. Cic. de Imp. Pomp. c. 6, *ceterarum provinciarum tanta sunt vectigalia ut iis ad ipsas tutandas provincias vix contenti esse possimus.* Compare the similar use of τοσοῦτος in Gk.

in medio. That is, the main body of the state as opposed to the two conflicting parties of the consuls and tribunes. Comp. Sallust, Jug. 41. 5, *Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt, res publica quae media fuerat dilacerata.* Possibly Livy's sentence is modelled on this.

c. LVIII. § 1. **Piso.** Cf. c. 32. 3.

§ 3. **qua**, nominative.

§ 5. **odisse** may be historic infin. as *esse* above, but it seems more natural to take it as part of the orat. obliq. with *se* omitted.

se unico, &c. 'He had been elected to the consulship as the bitterest (uncompromising) opponent of tribunician power, and yet a law had been carried,' &c.

unico, a rather favourite word of Livy's. It implies much the same as *unus* with superlatives, that is, single preeminence, matchlessness. Here it is to be taken in close connexion with *adversus...potestatem.* Perhaps the nearest literal equivalent would be the term 'wunner' applied by the marchioness to Mr R. Swiveller.

§ 6. **nec.** 'But it could not,' &c. Cf. c. 22. 3.

certamen, 'spirit of opposition.' Cf. 30. 9.

imbiberant. Cf. 47. 12.

§ 7. **si...vellet...adesset.** The subj. here like the opt. in Gk. signifies the indefinite repetition of an action in past time.

adhortator, c. 1. 4.

sua sponte qualify *motam*, 'any diligence they had felt moved to show.' *movere* is used as in the phrase *movere bellum, controversiam*, &c., 'to set a thing in motion,' 'to begin, excite,' &c.

§ 8. **ut**, consec. without preceding demonstrative.

§ 9. **prompta**, participle of *promo*, very unusual, elsewhere always an adj. Here it is a stronger way of expressing *adhibita*: 'when he had exhausted all the resources of his harshness.' The metaphor from bringing out of a cellar or storehouse.

cavillans used adverbially, 'with bitter sarcasm.'

Volerones, c. 13. 8.

vocare, sc. *centuriones. trib. pleb.* and *Vol.* are completions of *vocare.*

c. LIX. § 1. **Fabium**, c. 43. 6.

§ 2. **ceterum**, c. 3. 1.

Appio. The dat. for *in* or *adversus* with acc. is very unusual, until a later period of Latin.

signa, c. 20. 10.

§ 3. **expressa.** 'Then they were forced to rouse themselves and fight, and the already victorious enemy were dislodged,' &c., lit. 'force for fighting was wrung out of.'

ut, consec., see last chapter.

iam qualifies *a vallo*. 'The enemy were repulsed, but not before they had climbed the *vallum*.'

alia agrees with *clade*, but is used adverbially, extending the predicate 'with this exception,' lit. 'in the defeat where it was of a different kind,' i.e. when it did not affect the safety of the camp. The MSS. reading is *alii*, other emendations are *alibi* (Weissenb.) and *aliter*.

§ 4. **infractus**, rather stronger than *fractus*, broken so as to be disabled. Verg. Aen. XII. 1. Of the spirit it = 'broken down.' So also of words XXXVIII. 14, *oratio fuit summissa et infracta*. Here therefore with *nihil*, it strengthens the positive statement implied, 'utterly unbroken.'

ne utique, c. 27. 7.

§ 6. **tempus**, 'postponement.'

lucrarentur, subj. because it is the reason in Appius' mind, which induced him to give way.

§ 7. **quum maxime.** 'Just as.' Cf. I. 50. 7, *Haec atque alia ...quum maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius*.

ut eodem = *ut qui...essent*, 'naturally roused by,' &c., comp. 40. 3.

signaque, c. 20. 11.

memor, c. 2. 3.

§ 8. **ita** serves two purposes, to connect this sentence with the last and to anticipate *ut*; *ita...ut* = 'under such circumstances that.'

evasere. The subject to this has to be inferred from the context, that is, the Romans who escaped.

§ 9. **revocando**, c. 9. 1.

proditorem, c. 1. 4.

§ 11. **duplicarios** were soldiers who received double rations as a reward for distinguished service.

decimus quisque. The verb *decimo* is not used till later, e.g. Suetonius. The punishment was ancient enough. The principle of it is thus stated by Cicero, pro Cluent. 46, *Statuerunt enim ita maiores nostri ut si a multis esset flagitium rei militaris admissum sortitione in quosdam animadverteretur ut metus videlicet ad omnes, poena ad paucos perveniret.*

c. LX. § 1. **quo** = *ut* consec. More usually *quo* with comp. has a final sense. In this consecutive sense, it appears to be only used after *facio* and compounds, XXIII. 25. 8, *quo magis laetarentur effecerat.*

§ 2. **concordiae**, personification, cf. 4. 3.

populabundum. Livy has a great partiality for these adjectives, comp. *commissabundus, concionabundus, deliberabundus, errabundus, lacrimabundus, minitabundus, peregrinabundus, tentabundus, venerabundus, cunctabundus, indignabundus, gratulabundus, mirabundus, ludibundus.* The use of them before his time is very limited. It may almost be said to have begun with him as a literary prose usage.

§ 3. **placatior**, other comparatives of adjectival passive participles used by Livy are *inclinatior* (Cic.), *ignotior, celebratior, excitatior, commotior, paratior, distinctior, cuneatior, assuetior, obedientior, retractior, incautior, inflatior, impeditior, confectior, honoratior, efferatior, impunitior, effrenatior, auctior.*

§ 4. **atroci**, c. 56. 3.

§ 5. **summovendis**, c. 56. 4.

c. LXI. § 2. **tertio**, for the more usual *tertium.*

§ 4. **dumtaxat**, concessive, 'certainly.' Not common in Livy, and always after the word it qualifies. This is usually the position of it in Cicero also, but not always, e.g. de Amic. c. 15. 53, *Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus*, where *dumtaxat* qualifies *ad tempus.*

§ 5. **non modo...sed ne...quidem.** c. 23. 12.

aliquid, 'somewhat.' Not 'in any respect,' which would be *quidquam.* So in c. 2. 2, *ne honos...aliquid libertati... officeret* is 'lest the honour should interfere with liberty to some serious extent.'

§ 7. **prodicerent**, 'adjourned.' In these earlier times the trial would seem to have been concluded on the day on which the accused man was summoned to appear. In later times, the day of trial was fixed, generally by law, after the *nominis receptio*, that is after the preliminaries, including the *citatio*, had been completed.

§ 9. **laudationem.** c. 47. 11.

celebravit, 'attended the funeral in large numbers.' c. 42. 6.

c. LXII. § 2. **religio fuerit.** c. 5. 3.

vertit. Intrans. c. 52. 5.

§ 4. **quibus.** For the simple abl. without *in*, cf. VIII. 22. 5, *duabus urbibus populus idem habitabat:* so also *sedere*, I. 34. 8, *carpento* and *vivere*, IV. 3. 2, *una urbe*. The usage is poetical.

ancipiti proelio. Abl. of circumstance = *aequo Marte*, c. 40. 14.

§ 5. **integro,** 'undecided.' Cf. c. 5. 1.

c. LXIII. § 4. **et...quidem.** c. 2. 9.

nihil aliud quam. c. 29. 4.

citato. c. 10. 3.

§ 5. **prolapsam.** Metaphor from a man losing his footing. Used again VI. 22. 6, *rem temeritate eius prolapsam restituit*, and XXVII. 40. 3, *prospera bella in Hispania prolapsam eam (rem Romanam) erexisse.* 'The valour of the soldiers retrieved the false step of their careless commanders.'

negligentia. Personification, c. 4. 3.

7. **tenent.** 'Kept employed.' This sense of *teneo* to 'detain, keep in a certain position' is common in Livy, c. 64. 11, &c.

c. LXIV. § 2. **consularibus comitiis,** i.e. the *comitia centuriata*, in which the consuls were elected.

§ 3. **citato.** c. 10. 3.

prope, qualifying *porta Collina*. This attributive use of the simple adv. occurs, but not frequently, in writers before Livy, e.g. Plaut. Pers. III. 1. 57, *Non tu nunc hominum mores vides?* Cic. in Pis. IX. 21, *discessu tum meo.* (The limiting adverbs *quasi* and *tanquam*, the commonest example in ante-Augustan writers.) In Livy it is common. He uses *prope* (as here), *circa*, *invicem*, *alibi*, *bifariam*, *publice*, *inde*, *deinceps*, *alibi*, for the corresponding adjectives. A noticeable feature is the insertion of such adverbs between an attribute and subst., as a second coordinate attribute, e.g. *duo simul bella*, two simultaneous wars. This extension of the usage is Graecism.

§ 4. **infesto.** c. 20. 3.

adipisci. c. 30. 14.

§ 5. **signis.** c. 20. 10.

caede...sanguine, i.e. the number killed *and wounded* was enormous.

§ 6. **et** introduces a sentence confirmatory of what has preceded, and at the same time expressing a consequence of it. 'And accordingly.' Cf. Caesar, B. G., *Disciplina in Britannia reperta... esse existimatur; et nunc, qui eam rem diligentius cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo proficiscuntur.*

paucitas. c. 4. 3.

damno sentiendo. Dat. after *propior.* Cf. III. 35. 4, 'with their small numbers, they were more sensitive to loss.'

dum. II. 31. 2.

§ 10. **cohortem.** III. 5. 11.

stationem. 'Posted on guard outside the camp.'

in equos, the regular construction in Livy, not *equis.* So also *in naves imponere.*

§ 11. **species.** c. 4. 3.

equite. c. 20. 12.

tenuit. c. 63. 7.

c. LXV. § 2. **principia** has simply the general sense of 'the front ranks,' without reference to the *Principes* of the manipular legion. The use of the word may date from a period before the introduction of the manipular legion, when the citizens of the first class served in the front ranks.

miles. c. 20. 12.

§ 4. **Volscus.** c. 20. 12.

oneratum est...ni. c. 10. 2.

simul...simul. Frequent in Livy, not in Cicero, rare in Caesar.

§ 5. **ultro.** 'Actually,' 'even,' going *farther* than might have been expected, and turning the tables on the enemy. c. 13. 2.

capto, *impetum conatum &c. capere* is a frequent use, 'to begin' or 'start.' Possibly extensions of the phrase *capere* ('to grasp, conceive,' and so 'form and execute') *consilium.*

§ 6. **prope erat ut.** II. 23. 12.

BOOK III.

c. I. § 1. **Antio**, II. 65.

Fabius, the MSS. have *Quinctius* inserted here which is probably an error arising from *qui unus* having been repeated by the copyist. Only ten years before this time, this Fabius was a boy, II. 50.

§ 2. **priore.** Livy does not mention the fact, II. 61.

auctor, II. 56. 6.

agrarii. The friends of the Domain-law.

utique, II. 27. 7.

§ 3. **possessores**, II. 41. 2.

se iactare, 'displaying himself,' 'taking a prominent part.'

actionibus, II. 31. 8, 'agitations.'

averterant, 'succeeded in diverting,' pluperfect, signifies the completion of the action before the time of which the writer is speaking.

§ 4. **aderat...ni**, II. 10. 1.

priore anno, II. 65.

§ 5. **Antium**, originally a Latin, became afterwards a Roman colony, see § 7.

et couples *propinquam* and *maritimam*, which qualify *opportunam*, conveniently situated, being near at hand, and on the sea-coast, II. 32. 3.

§ 6. **agro dando**, II. 5. 9.

§ 7. **ut fit**, II. 4. 5.

numerum. The number of a colony was fixed by the act, under which it was planted. Livy's statement about the addition of Volscians to the colony is very doubtful. The statement of Dionysius that Latins and Hernicans were associated with the Romans is probably the correct one.

c. II. § 2. **extra ordinem**, i.e. by a special decree of the Senate on special grounds. Usually the spheres of command were arranged by lot, or by mutual arrangement between the consuls.

§ 3. **ab Roma**, II. 39. 5. Here, however, a personification of Rome may be intended.

§ 4. **etiam nunc.** 'Even now he had much rather the Aequi should freely change their mind than that they should have to be treated as enemies.'

§ 5. **gaudeant.** 'If they must indulge their inclination to perjury.' Comp. II. 60. 1.

§ 6. **adeo** *non, nihil,* &c., frequent in Livy, II. 2. 7.

§ 7. **indignitas.** Cf. II. 30. 2.

§ 8. **ab statione,** 'from the outposts,' II. 64. 10.

§ 10. **miles,** II. 20. 12.

longam venire, 'that the night that was coming was (would be) a weary long one, because, &c. *Longam venire,* it is hardly necessary to point out, does not mean that the night was long in passing, but indicates the disappointment of the soldiers at the obstacle put in the way of fighting, and their impatience at the thought of the long time that must elapse before they could fight. They were not conscious of the passing of the night because they were asleep.

c. III. § 2. **memor,** II. 6. 9.

§ 3. **infesto,** II. 6. 8.

§ 4. **incerta eoque vaniora**=*quo incertiora eo vaniora* qualifying *audita. vaniora* suggests the *vano augentes timore* above. 'Their report, exaggerated in proportion to its vagueness, was taken up by the first people they met, and by them spread further.'

§ 5. **timori.** Final dative after substantive, frequent in Livy, e.g., c. 12. 1, 8.

increpans, 'indignantly exclaiming.'

§ 6. **iustitium,** a cessation of legal and all other business, usual in times of great danger or distress.

praefecto urbis relicto. The consuls had the right of appointing in case of emergency, a magistrate to represent them in the city. This magistrate during the absence of the consuls had all the power of the latter *inside the city,* and assumed the consular *insignia.* In later times, when the consuls never left the city during their year of office, the office of *praefectus urbis* naturally fell into abeyance, except in the purely formal praefectship, lasting for a few hours, while the consuls were absent for the *Feriae Latinae.* Under the Caesars the office was revived, and ultimately became a permanent one. *Relinquere praefectum* is the technical phrase for the appointment of this magistrate, by the consul, under the republic.

§ 9. **conditum.** *Condo,* as Prof. Seeley says, Livy, I. 44. 2, like the English verb, 'to close,' meant originally 'to put away,' then, 'to finish.'

lustrum. The purificatory rites (λού-ειν, *lav-are*) after the taking of the census. As this was done at intervals of five years, *lustrum* obtained the significance of 'a space of five years;' and it is probably that acquired meaning which determined the use of the word *condo* in connexion with it.

orbos orbasque. Elsewhere *pupillos viduasque*, but *orbas* here would include widows, for the word is a general one, meaning, deprived of a near relation, especially a relation to whom a person looks for protection. *Orbos* here will of course only mean orphans. The meaning that it sometimes bears of 'childless men,' is not to the point here. Only full citizens were entered in the census in their own names, widows and orphans were entered by their *tutores*.

§ 10. **populari**, passive, as not unfrequently.

c. iv. § 1. **Fusios**, the regular weakening of *s* to *r* between two vowels (e.g. *genus generis*) was a fact unknown to Livy.

§ 2. **gereret.** This use of the imperfect subjunctive in dependent questions, as a more vivid expression of the future is common, comp. ii. 55. 9, *incerti quatenus exerceret victoriam*, compare the use of the present indicative for future, ii. 9. 3.

Ecetranis, ii. 25. 6.

§ 5. **quid rei esset.** 'What was going on.' *Quid hoc rei est?* (c. 17. 2), 'What is the meaning of this?

§ 7. **multitudinis**, 'their numbers;' so, frequently used of the population of a city.'

commisit, with dative instead of *in* with accusative, ii. 45. 1.

§ 9. **quae forma**, relative clause in apposition to what follows, cf. 5. 4.

ultimae, so Caesar, B. G. 1. 5, *ultimum senatus consultum* of a similar decree.

videret ne. The formula by which the Senate invested the consuls with temporary dictatorial power. The more usual course in the earlier times was to appoint a dictator.

§ 10. **pro consule.** 'Deputy consul,' a substitute for the consul in his military capacity as the *praefectus urbis* was in his civil. It is obvious that the phrase in connexion with these early times means something very different from what it meant in later times when the consul regularly became proconsul after his year of office. The later war period, when several commanders were required at once, and it was advisable to continue men in their commands, forms the middle

portion as it were of the history of the word. The *pro* meant originally no doubt 'instead of,' but in the later development of the office the sense of 'prolongation' (as in *prorogare*) would suit the meaning of *pro consule* equally well; and the Romans themselves seem to have hovered between the two derivations.

§ 11. **subitarios**, otherwise, *tumultuarius exercitus*. Troops levied hastily for an emergency not according to the strict rules of the levy.

c. v. § 3. **ad praesidium**, i.e. as *praefectus urbis*, c. 3. 6.

§ 4. **stationes**, c. 2. 8.

iustitium, c. 3. 4.

decumana. The rear gate of the camp.

§ 6. **captis**, ii. 65. 5.

§ 7. **animos**, 'courage,' ii. 12. 8.

§ 8. **peregrinis**, explained by *cum Latino*, &c.

§ 11. **cohortium**. Livy both here and in ii. 64. 10 has been misled by the word σπεῖρα which he found in his authorities. This in its later and best known sense was the equivalent of *cohors*. But in speaking of earlier times the Greek historians used it to mean *manipulus*.

§ 12. Valerius Antias lived in the time of Sulla. His history comprised apparently the whole period from the founding of Rome to his own times. Livy professes to use him with caution, but it is probable that he borrowed largely from him.

concipere, 'to take together,' so 'to grasp as a whole in the mind,' 'to estimate.'

§ 13. **exsequendo**, &c. 'Giving very exact details,' 'with a nice accuracy of detail.'

§ 14. **aut...aut**, 'were either actually seen or conjured up by their terrified imagination,' lit. 'showed unsubstantial appearances to the terrified people,' a sort of hypallage, the portents being said to cause what proceeded from the men's own minds.

his, dative, 'by way of,' &c. The dat. of the gerundive is used, by a very free use, here simply for a final sentence, cf. x. 41. 3, *carmen detestandae familiae compositum*. This usage begun by Livy is frequent in later writers. Livy, however, more commonly perhaps uses this dat. of gerund. in connexion with single words, adjectives, substantives (e.g. *comitia*, *exemplum*, *occasio*, *tempus*, &c.) and intrans. verbs esp. *esse*, cf. ii. 5. 9, 9. 6.

c. vi. § 1. **anni.** That is, the official year, cf. c. 36. 3: *agebatur*, imperf., shows that Livy means that that was the time regularly observed as the beginning of the year.

§ 3. **ministeriaque,** 'while,' &c. *Colluvio...augebat* and *ministeria...vulgabant* are two parts of the description of the aggravation of the disease intimately connected, cf. ii. 12. 13.

ministeria in vicem and *contagio ipsa* are distinct; attendance on one another would of course spread the disease, but, more than that, the merest contact, not amounting to attendance on a sick person, did the same.

in vicem, cf. ii. 64. 3.

§ 5. **ut,** i.e., 'bidding the Hernicans to,' &c.

§ 7. **infestus,** ii. 6. 8.

lapidem Gabina...via, cf. ii. 11. 7.

§ 8. **in spe...tumultu,** c. ii. 3. 2.

affecti, absolute. A technical use of the word of people labouring under a disease. Quite classical both in literal and metaphorical sense.

aetas, abstr. for concrete, ii. 10. 8.

§ 9. **per aetatem,** 'whose age and state of health would allow of it.' For this use of *per* = as far as concerns something, compare the common phrase *per me licet.*

circumitio ac cura, sc. *vigiliarum.*

summa rerum, *summa* in this phrase means the 'sum total' or 'whole' rather than 'the highest point' (both being meanings of the subst.), the whole of affairs devolving on a person obviously meaning that he holds supreme control over all the affairs of the state.

consularis. Livy can hardly mean that the superintendence of the watch was a duty of the consuls—in later times it was certainly a duty of the inferior magistrates, Livy xxxii. 26. 17, but rather that the Plebeian aediles were now responsible for everything because they were the only magistrates left in the city. On these magistrates see Mommsen i. 280.

c. vii. § 2. **non modo...sed ne...quidem,** ii. 61. 5.

avertere, whereas they might naturally have been supposed to attract them and would have done so, if they had had the spirit of soldiers rather than plunderers.

§ 3. **convellerent.** The standards in camp were planted in the ground. Hence the expression = 'to strike camp.'

§ 4. **etiam...non solum**, a variation of the more usual *non modo...sed etiam*, cf. xxi. 54. 3, *uti numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis.*

si, dependent on *pudore*, seems a reflection of the Greek *αἰσχύνεσθαι εἰ.*

§ 5. **ab Tusculana.** The name *Tusculani colles* was given to the ridge lying N.W. of and forming a sort of *vallum* to the Alban hills. On this ridge Tusculum lay about 2 miles above the modern Frascati.

parum, ii. 18. 4.

in praesentia. With reference to the events in c. 8. The phrase appears to be elliptical, understanding *tempora*, and corresponds therefore very nearly to our '*for the present.*' It is quite classical.

§ 6. **curio maximus.** The President of the 30 *curiones*, the religious heads of the *curiae.*

§ 7. **ire supplicatum.** To perform a *supplicatio*, a religious processional service, in later times the accompaniment of the *lectisternum*, see Capes, Livy xxi. and xxii., App. 2.

§ 8. **ad id, quod**, 'in addition to the cogent motive of individual suffering,' with reference to *publica auctoritate.*

c. viii. § 1. **defuncta**, 'those in whom the disease had run its course,' lit. 'bodies which had passed fully through their diseases.'

§ 2. **interregna.** The *interrex* was a magistrate appointed for 5 days, in case of a vacancy occurring in the chief magistracy. He must be a patrician and a senator. He was appointed by the patrician portion of the Senate (*coeunt patres* (*Patricii*) *ad prodendum interregem*) and during his term of office held all the powers and the insignia of the consul. But the first interrex appointed after a vacancy could not hold the consular comitia. He could only appoint a second interrex who could hold the elections. The reason for this is perhaps the following. The right of consulting the gods by auspices was vested in the chief magistrate of the state, the king first, afterwards the consul. In case of the death of a consul, the *auspicia* were said to return to the patrician senators (*redire* in *patres*). The right of consulting the gods, then, was in abeyance until one of the patrician senators was chosen by election or lot to represent the body in this respect, when the auspices were said to be renewed (*renovari*). The first *interrex*, therefore, was elected without previous taking of the auspices, and this possibly is

the reason why he was considered incapable of holding the elections. The Auspice system had, so to speak, got out of gear, and one *interrex* was required solely for the purpose of putting it into working order again.

creare is a loose expression for *comitiis habitis consulem renuntiat*.

§ 3. **ultro**, II. 13. 2.

§ 5. **arcendis**, c. 5. 14.

§ 6. **fefellit**, II. 19. 7.

§ 7. **re subita.** Madvig probably rightly omits the *in* which other editors admit. This would be *in* of the attendant circumstances, as a cause, II. 3. 2, 34. 5. But Livy does not seem to use it elsewhere than in this passage so distinctly and barely in a causal sense. Draeger reads the passage with *in*, but he gives no other example of such a purely causal sense of *in* with abl.

§ 11. **victor**, II. 1. 4.

fortuna, II. 4. 3. So *res secundae* below.

c. IX. § 2. **actionibus**, II. 31. 8.

§ 4. **legum**, with special reference to the discretionary power exercised by the consuls in the absence of a written code of laws.

§ 5. **promulgare** was to publish the terms of a measure that a man meant to bring before the *comitia*. This being the preliminary process in legislation, the phrase is often used in a general sense, 'to bring in a bill.' This measure affecting the whole community was to be brought before the people in the plebeian *comitia tributa*, without therefore obtaining the *auctoritas patrum*, see III. 59. 5. On the proposal and the meaning of it, see Mommsen I. 289 fol.

§ 6. **praefecto**, c. 3. 6.

§ 7. **sisti**, II. 29. 8.

§ 9. **quid...sit?** A proof amongst others that the tribunes had the power of summoning offenders before their *comitia tributa* as a court of justice.

§ 12. **miserum, invidiosum.** Chiasmus.

integram, II. 5. 1.

c. X. § 2. **antiquius.** *Antiquus* which is the adjective of *ante*, as *posticus* of *post*, is used of what precedes in order, as well

as of what precedes in time. The consul gave precedence to this matter, considered it of the *first* importance, his triumph a matter of only *secondary* importance.

consuli, II. 7. 9.

§ 4. **ovans.** The modified triumph (*ovatio*). The general entered the city on foot instead of in a triumphal car, in simple *toga praetexta* instead of the *picta*, often without soldiers as here, and the victim sacrificed was a sheep (hence the name) instead of a bull.

§ 5. **lex aggressa est**, II. 4. 3.

relata appears not to be used in its usual sense in this connexion, of *referre ad senatum*, but = 'to bring before the people *again*.'

§ 6. **ita...ut.** The *ut* introduces a sentence restrictive of the preceding statement. Sometimes the *ita* is omitted in the first clause—very favourite use of Cicero, Phil. II. § 85, *Ita Lupercus eras ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes.* De Fin. II. 22, *Certe malet existimari vir bonus, ut non sit, quam esse, ut non putetur.* Comp. c. 20 below.

§ 7. **libri** Sibyllini. On these and the prodigies, see Capes' Livy, App. 2.

ne depends on *pericula*, implying fear.

§ 8. **accisae**, 'impaired.' Horace opposes the word to *integer*, II. Sat. II. 114, *Integris opibus novi non latius usum quam nunc accisis.* Comparing this with II. Epp. II. 50, *decisis humilem pennis*, we may perhaps conclude that the metaphor is from clipping a bird's wings.

summam. 'Antium was their head-quarters.'

Ecetrae appears as the chief state of the Volscians, c. 4.

eas, II. 10. 2.

§ 10. **personare.** Not common in this sense, but quite classical. Cic. Republ. I. ii. 2, *Has res isti in angulis personant.*

§ 11. **occidione**, II. 51. 9.

§ 12. **indici, geri.** Chiasmus.

§ 13. **ne quid**, &c. II. 29. 1.

victam esse, nisi, II. 10. 1.

togati, opp. to *oneratam armis.*

c. xi. § 2. **prendisset**, repeated indefinite action, Gk. opt., ii. 58. 7.

virium spes = *spes quam vires dabant.* 'A man did not confine himself within his rights, but went as far as he could trust his strength, and if you wished to assert yourself, it must be done by main force.'

intendo, 'to strain the muscles, exert the strength in a certain direction,' usually has an attribute, an infin., or a case. Sallust also uses it absolutely, as here. Jug. 25. 10, *Neque quod intenderat, efficere poterat.*

§ 3. **gessissent.** By using the subj. Livy represents this not merely as a statement of his own, but as the motive at work in the minds of the Patricians.

§ 4. **discedere**, ii. 60. 5.

§ 6. **qua...qua**, ii. 35. 4.

§ 7. **velut**, ii. 33. 8. 'Like one in whose imperious tones and imperious strength all Rome's dictators and consuls asserted themselves.'

procellas, ii. 1. 4.

§ 9. **capitis**, ii. 52. 5.

velut iusto. 'In something more like regular warfare.' *Iustum* in this phrase has the sense of full, complete, as in *iusti cursus amnis*, i. 4. 4, 'the *true* river.'

§ 10. **ruere**, 'to go his own way,' used absolutely of a man going blindly on in a way that will land him in destruction or difficulty. Cic. de Off. iii. 13. 55, *Emptorem pati ruere et per errorem in fraudem incurrere.*

§ 12. **ecquid** = *en quid.* It is frequently used to express urgency on the part of the speaker, so that it is a rhetorical way of expressing a wish or a command. Frequently in Plautus, e.g., *ecquis hoc aperit ostium?* Here it = 'I hope you are beginning to see now, &c.'

§ 13. **quanquam**, ii. 49. 10.

ultro, ii. 13. 2.

c. xii. § 1. **iudicio**, attribute to *dies.*

cum, ii. 12. 1.

indignitate, c. 2. 5, 'most reluctantly,' or 'chafing the while.'

§ 3. **maturae**, early. Metaphor from fruits, ripening early.

§ 4. **suis**, ii. 23. 5.

§ 5. **participare**, ii. 52. 8.

§ 6. **momentum**, 'certain to be a mighty power in any state, &c.' Comp. ii. 7. 10. Used of a person also xxviii. 17. 10, *Magnum in omnia* momentum *Syphax erat*. The person is represented as that which causes a change in the balance of things anywhere.

§ 8. **cumulo**, vivid way of saying *augeo*, favourite metaphor of Cicero.

condonarent. 'For *his* sake who, &c. to pardon his son,' lit., 'to make a present of his son to him,' the regular word in this sense for which Horace uses *redono*, Odes, iii. iii. 33.

§ 9. **aversabantur**, 'turned away from.' The accus. *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, because of the active sense of the word. Cf. Gk. *ἀποστρέφεσθαί τινα*.

praeferebant, 'showed what their verdict would be.' *Prae* here has a temporal sense as in *praeiudicium*. The sense is rare in this compound, but it is found xxxix. 5. 9, *praetulit triumphi diem*.

c. xiii. § 2. **grassantem**, 'roistering.' Comp. ii. 27. 7.

in Subura. The low part between the Esquiline Viminal and Quirinal. In later times it certainly was, and perhaps from early times had been, the lowest part of the city in every sense.

§ 3. **per consules**. 'The consuls had persecuted,' &c. c. 6. 9.

§ 5. **servaturum**. Mommsen i. 281.

§ 6. **appellati**. Comp. ii. 43 and 44.

medio. ii. 30. 1.

expediunt, 'saved their position as the legal protectors of the citizens.' Lit. 'disentangled (from a difficult position) the right of (claiming) their aid.'

sisti, to appear in court to take his trial.

§ 8. **vades**. Bail, men who became security for the appearance of an accused man on the day of trial, properly used of criminal cases, *praes* of a similar security in civil cases. But the distinction is very commonly not observed, and Livy seems to regard the word as a general one here, from his adding *publicos* (= in a criminal trial) to *vades* below.

vadatus est. *Vadari reum* is said of the plaintiff who holds the defendant to bail.

§ 9. **solum...causa.** The regular phrase used of a man who went into voluntary exile. The Roman law recognised the right of an accused man to avoid trial by self-expatriation, hence *nihilominus*, &c. Probably Verginius argued that Caeso could not become a citizen of Etruria and therefore was still a citizen of Rome, for it was the law that a man who went into banishment did not cease to be a citizen of Rome until he was admitted to the citizenship of another state.

c. xiv. § 4. **quum primo**, 'when for the first time after, &c.'

ubi primum, 'as soon as ever.'

ut. c. 10. 6.

§ 5. **adesse.** The regular word of supporting a man in a law court as patron or *advocatus*.

§ 6. **nedum ut.** *Nedum* is used adverbially, *ut* being consecutive with the same sense as above and c. 10. 6.

c. xv. § 3. **interficiendorum.** The gen. of the gerund after *consilium capere*, *inire* is a classical construction.

§ 4. **et**, 'and so,' 'under these circumstances,' introducing the whole of the statements in two parts coupled by *que*, 'accordingly while a war, &c., an evil nearer home arose.'

sollemne. *Annus* prob. contains the root *amb* (*am*) which appears in ἀμφί, *ambire*, &c. *sollus* was an old Latin word (Gk, ὅλος) which appears also in *sollers*, *solidus*, *solliferreum* (sc. *telum*). *Sollemnis* therefore means recurring every year, and secondarily that which ought to recur every year, stated, regular. It was used specially in connexion with the regular, stated festivals of the Roman religion, and hence is used by Latin writers in two shades of meaning according as the religious connexion of the word, or the sense of regular recurrence, is predominant in the mind of the writer. Here it is qualified by *in singulos annos* (showing that the derivation had been lost sight of) and means 'a regular annual institution.'

§ 5. **exules.** Prob. men who had fled from Rome on account of debt. The patrician exiles can hardly be meant.

Capitolium. ii. 49. 7.

§ 7. **sedando.** ii. 9. 1, 'by their very attempts to quiet them.' Lit. 'in the process of.'

§ 8. **incerto.** *Incertus*='undetermined,' and is used either subjectively of a man whose mind is undetermined about something, or objectively of some external thing, the nature of which is undetermined.

c. xvi. § 1. **dilucere.** Rare word, only used in metaphorical sense, whereas *dilucescere* is more ordinarily literal.

§ 3. **abrogare.** ii. 8. 3.

concordia. Abl. of circumstance.

§ 4. **mergentibus** may be regarded as coupled to *superantibus*, supplying *rempublicam* from the context, but it seems more natural to regard it as an adjective simply coupled to *aliis*. 'Thrown into the shade by other overwhelming evils, the Tribunes and Plebs ceased to be a terror to any one.' If the future participle *futurus* can be used, as it frequently is, as an adjective, there seems no reason why a present part. should not be used so also.

mansuetum, 'domesticated,' metaphor from animals. ii. 30. 4.

tum quiesse. Madvig's excellent emendation for *tumque esse* of the MSS.

§ 5. **unum** intensifies *maxime*, while *prope* modifies both. 'But they were perhaps the one influence that pressed most heavily on the toppling state.' *Inclinatis*, metaphor from a structure, pillar, &c., forced out of the perpendicular.

hospites. Foreign correspondents. That is, people of a foreign state to whom the patricians acted as *proxeni* in Rome. The word was perhaps specially levelled at Appius Claudius. Cf. ii. 16. These words qualify the subj. to *abituros*. 'They were foreign friends and clients &c...and.'

§ 6. **legi perferendae** qualifies *concilium*. Cf. 5. 14.

c. xvii. § 1. **templum.** ii. 56. 10.

quid hoc, &c. Cf. c. 4. 5.

§ 3. **Iuppiter, Iuno, Minerva.** The three deities to whom the Capitoline temple was dedicated. Other deities to whom temples were dedicated on the *Arx* and *Capitolium* were *Terminus* and *Fides*.

penates does not refer to the temple of the Penates which was on the Velia but to the three deities mentioned above, the household gods, as it were, of the Roman community.

§ 4. **curiam,** sc. *Hostiliam* on the N. side of the *comitium*.

§ 5. **quicquid.** ii. 35. 5.

§ 6. **auro captam**, allusion to the story of Tarpeia. i. 11.

en. ii. 6. 7.

§ 7. **ultimum orationis.** ii. 11. 4.

imperii. That is, of the restrictions on the power of the consuls.

sacratarum. ii. 8. 2.

§ 8. **in tribunis.** In the case of the tribunes. Cf. vi. 18. 4, *Quod in Spurio Maelio Cincinnatus fecisset.*

§ 9. **cessere nocti.** 'Retired from the scene at the approach of night,' lit. 'retired in favour of night,' ethic dat.

§ 12. **circa.** 'To inspect (to go the round of) the gates and walls.'

c. xviii. § 1. **dictator.** The title of the chief magistrate in some of the Latin States, e.g. Aricia, Lanuvium, Nomentum.

§ 3. **demerendi**, with acc. of person instead of *de* with abl., is a *constructio ad sensum.* The compound is rare.

§ 4. **agmine descendunt**, 'they march down.' Livy and later writers used the bare modal abl. without attribute (adj. or gen. case) much more frequently than the previous writers. In the latter the use is nearly confined to the following, *ordine, ratione, via, more, iure, iniuria, silentio, dolo, fraude, vi, vitio.*

§ 5. **ad.** Used in its local sense. So *ad exercitum relinquere.* For local sense of *praesidium*, cf. ii. 10. 3.

§ 6. **quo.** Causal abl. The emendation of Gronovius for *quod.*

se sissent. The MSS. vary a good deal here. The reading of the text is the emendation of Rhenanus, adopted by Madvig and other editors.

§ 7. **clivum.** The steep road leading from the Forum up to the Capitol.

erigunt. ii. 31. 5.

§ 8. **signa.** ii. 20. 12.

ciens. ii. 19. 7.

§ 9. **prae ardore.** *Prae* is used, as frequently, of the cause of a thing, vividly and picturesquely stated: so especially of an impeding cause. Cic. Pro Planc. 41, *Nec loqui prae maerore potuit.* It is really a case of personification, for *prae*='in the presence of.' The Greek equivalent is ὑπό with gen.

tantae rei qualifies *sensus.*

§ 10. **esset**, more picturesque than *erat*. For it expresses the criterion of punishment, not as a fact stated by Livy, but as existing in the minds of the people who inflicted it.

suae fortunae. An adj. qualifying *supplicium*. The punishment appropriate to his condition in life.

§ 11. **ut funere, &c.** Comp. II. 16. 7.

c. XIX. § 1. **subrogasset.** II. 8. 3.

§ 2. **tenuere.** II. 63. 7.

occiperet, 'begin.' So I. 7. 6, *agere porro armentum occepit.* Ante- and post-classical. Not used by Cicero or Caesar.

§ 3. **favore.. liberis.** All qualify *potentem*, as causal ablatives.

priores erant. From an oblique case of a relative, a nom., or accus., may be supplied to a following clause. Cic. Tusc. I. 30. 72, *Quibus fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab iis semper sevocassent.* Livy IX. 1, *quorum saevitiam...non exsatient, placari nequeant.*

priores, 'superior.' Not so used by Caesar or Cicero.

§ 4. **castigando**, 'severely rebuking.' So opp. to *laudo*. XXVII. 8. 18, *ut...dominos laudaret castigaretque.*

§ 5. **belli domique.** This locative use of *belli* is only found once in Cicero, who uses *militiae* in this connexion: Livy uses both expressions. The two words practically form an adverb, and the construction is similar to II. 64. 3. Livy also uses *bello domique.*

semina. Not unfrequently applied to persons. Cic. Philipp. II. § 55, *Ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi belli* semen *tu fuisti*, with which Mr Mayor compares Demosth. de Cor. § 159, ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος.

§ 6. **qui**=*si quis.*

si nihil aliud, *concessive;* cf. XXX. 35. 8, *si nihil aliud, vulneribus certe ferrum hostile hebetarent.*

prope, 'as good as.' Cf. II. 42. 9.

§ 7. **pace.** Abl. of circumstance. In Cicero it is used without *cum*, as also by Livy, except in the phrase *cum bona pace;* but in this too he sometimes omits the preposition. *Venia*, which is used in much the same sense, is found with and without *cum*, both in Cicero and in Livy.

tolleretis. *Signa*, *intulistis* imply the choice exercised by the soldiers, and practically = 'Did you decide to march?' &c.; hence the orat. obliq. in the relative sentence.

deorum. The gen. after *pudet* and other impersonal verbs expresses the object which excites mental emotion. In the case of persons, therefore, it signifies the person *before* whom one is ashamed, whose presence excites shame, or the person *of* whom one is ashamed, whose relation to oneself excites one's shame. Cic. Philipp. II. § 61.

§ 8. **liberarent.** Imp. = future. Cf. c. 4. 2.

ne pro se, &c. II. 30. 8, 53. 5.

eramus nisi, &c. II. 10. 1.

§ 9. **scilicet,** like *quippe* and *nempe*, introduces what is self-evident, but in prose is generally ironical.

peculiarem, adj. of *peculium*, II. 41. 10. 'Your own private state,' 'a state within the state.' These two sentences, from *scilicet* to *erat*, are antithetic and asyndeta, very frequent form in Latin rhetoric.

§ 11. **at enim.** Ordinary rhetorical usage, introducing a statement of the other side which is to be attacked: Gk. ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία.

tum. Then, = 'in that case,' expanded into *si tuleritis*, below. 'Then, by Heaven, it was a bad day's work for the Republic to make me consul, far worse than losing their consul Valerius, if ever you do carry it.'

§ 12. **fuerit.** The perfect adapted to *ex praeterito suspicari*, while *re ipsa experiri* would require the present.

si scissent. *Fuerit* is the perf. indic. turned into subj. on account of the dependent question. Put directly it would have been *quantum fuit*, &c. *si scivissent* = *quantum* fuisset *si scivissent*. The construction is therefore virtually the same as in II. 10. 1, &c.

c. xx. § 1. **comes animosior,** 'ready to co-operate in a spirited policy, but not so ready to originate it.'

suscepisse, 'had been the first to adopt (or begin).' Cf. Cic. pro Arch., *suscipere rationem studiorum*.

actiones, II. 31. 8, here almost = 'policy.'

§ 3. **in verba iuraverint** is practically one verb, *in verba* showing that it was the regular military oath. Cf. II. 32. 1.

It would seem that the death of the leader did not dissolve the oath, but that a formal release (*missio*) was required (cf. *nec iniussu abituros*). Comp. however II. 32. 2. The idea of the

soldiers there and the protest of the tribunes here would seem to imply some doubt upon the point among the Romans themselves.

§ 4. **cavillari.** II. 58. 9.

adacti. II. 1. 9.

§ 5. **tenet,** 'possesses,' 'which is so fashionable in our times.'

saeculum, 'the age,' with special reference to the tone and habits of feeling of the age. Cf. Tac. Germ. 19, *nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur.*

§ 6. **exitu.** Emendation of Perigonius, for MSS. *exercitu,* which gives no sense.

ubi auspicato. The necessary preliminary to public business in *comitia.* The place was made a *templum,* cf. II. 56. 10. As the *comitia centuriata* was the assembly of the arm-bearing citizens, held in Rome in the Campus Martius, there would seem to be nothing impossible in transferring the assembly to the seat of war.

§ 7. **rogatum...iussuros,** the technical terms for submitting a proposal to the assembly, and for accepting it on the part of the citizens. *Abrogare* is to *repeal.* To reject a proposition, *antiquare.*

provocationem. The right of appeal ceased where martial law existed. Mommsen, I. 259.

in alia. *alia* here apparently = *cetera.* This is not frequent in Livy, and never occurs in Cicero. Sallust and Caesar use it so.

§ 8. **non ita...ut.** For the more usual *ita ut...non,* c. 10. 6.

sisti. II. 29. 8.

sine provocatione. II. 18. 6.

c. xxi. § 2. **magistratus et tribunos.** Livy here as c. 64 makes a distinction between magistrates and tribunes. Compare II. 56.

§ 3. **in potestate esse,** as *in auctoritate esse* above, is 'to submit to the authority of, &c.'

reficiebant. Conative.

actio. II. 31. 8.

§ 4. **elevatis,** 'you yourselves are setting it at naught.' Metaphor from scales, to raise a scale by lessening the weight in it, a common use of the word.

quippe introduces the whole sentence of which *quia...solvit* is a subordinate part.

§ 5. **tanquam** = *tanquam si.*

§ 6. **quam faciant** depends on the idea of preferring in '*peccate* potius.'

§ 7. **accepturum,** 'I shall regard your action.' Compare our use of 'take' in 'taking ill, &c.' 'The view I shall take of your doing so, will be not that you have stood in the way of my advancement, &c.'

spreti, sc. *a me.* 'The glory of refusing office.'

c. xxii. § 1. The **lustrum** being a religious ceremony would be hindered by any circumstance that would interfere with any other rite.

condi. Cf. iii. 2. 9.

religiosum. ii. 5. 3.

§ 2. **instigabant.** A classical word, but not very frequent. It is formed on the root *stig*, the original idea of which is that of 'pricking.' From the same root are Greek *στίζω*, *στιγμή*, &c., *στικτός* (dappled). Lat. *sti(g)mulus*, *sti(g)lus*, *distinguo*, &c.

praeverti, 'to be attended to first.' ii. 24. 5.

§ 4. **foedere,** ii. 33. 4, 41. 1. Mommsen, i. 349.

lustrato. A review of the army was accompanied by a *lustratio*, ceremony of purification, corresponding to that which was held when the whole people was reviewed.

§ 5. **tres separatim acies.** ii. 64. 3.

§ 6. **inde** qualifies *observari.* The allies on either side were to look to the Roman division for the signal to advance or retreat.

principia. ii. 65. 2.

§ 7. **quum, instaret** qualify *non sustinentes.* 'The Volsci, unable to withstand the shock of this general attack.'

§ 8. **eques.** ii. 20. 12.

ad id, up to that time.

spectator, ii. 1. 4.

adeptus, sc. *hostes.* 'Getting a chance at the enemy in the open.'

libero. Cf. xxiii. 47. 4, *libero spatio inter se ludificantes.*

c. xxiii. § 2. **recens.** c. 18.

§ 3. **nihil praeter,** &c. Compare c. 27. 3, for the ordinary arrangements for an expedition.

ab Roma. Cf. ii. 39. 5.

§ 4. **fames.** ii. 4. 3.

§ 6. **et.** 'The other consul too' (repeated in *et ipse*) (as well as Fabius) left Rome.'

c. xxiv. § 1. **quod foris.** Instead of the more usual *ut.*

legis tollendae, descriptive attribute to *frustratio.* It describes the kind of trick, that is, the object or purpose of it. This use of the gen. gerund. with a subst. is found in Cicero and Caesar. But Livy's use is wider and looser than Cicero's, extending the use of the genitive.

§ 2. **L. Lucretius** seems a necessary correction for P. Lucretius. For the praefects at that time seem to have been always consulars. See c. 8.

praefectus urbis, c. 3. 6.

actiones. ii. 31. 8.

§ 3. **quaestores.** ii. 41. 11.

§ 4. **emanabat,** 'it oozed out.' So viii. 3. 3, *Indicia emanârunt.*

non modo...sed ne quidem. Cf. ii. 23. 12.

§ 5. **tabe,** a wasting disease. 'Had never even left his bed, dying after a lingering illness of several months.' *que,* ii. 12. 13.

frequentem. Epexegetical of *secum,* ii. 5. 7, 'constantly on duty.' *signa,* ii. 20. 12.

nisi, &c. 'Many were ready to challenge Volscius to prove the contrary in a civil suit.' Lit. 'Many privately (opp. to *publicum* used with *iudicium*) were offering Volscius an umpire, "if it were not so."'

nisi ita esset is part of the form which would be used in the legal wager, used here to express the kind of process that these people proposed to adopt. This was the *sponsio.* The formal question put by the plaintiff (one of these *multi*) would be *si haec res ita est,* or *si in castris fuit Caeso,* aeris &c. (whatever the sum might be) dare *spondes?* To which Volscius would reply *spondeo.* This civil process would be preliminary (*praeiudicialis*) to the criminal. If Volscius gained a verdict here, the case against him would be at an end. Livy, however, is here transferring a legal process of later times to earlier.

iudex in sing. the judge or umpire in a civil dispute. The pl. is the jury in a *iudicium publicum.*

§ 7. **in mora.** *In* in such phrases as this (cf. *in culpa esse*) signifies the position which a thing holds, the class it is reckoned in. So *in bonis, in poena haberi.* Compare our use of 'in fault.'

comitia, sc. *centuriata*, before which the quaestors as representatives of the consuls would have Volscius tried. The consuls, as we have seen, II. 1. 7, succeeded to the criminal jurisdiction of the kings, but with this limitation, that they were obliged to allow appeal to the people. Under these circumstances, it was only to be expected that important criminal prosecutions (what may be called state trials) would be brought before the people in the first instance. Thus the *Comitia* was the supreme court of criminal judicature, always in theory, and in early times, in practice also. In later times the citizens were represented by *quaestiones* 'commissions,' which in course of time became *perpetuae* 'standing commissions,' or in fact 'criminal courts.' But in using the terms 'criminal' and 'civil' it must be remembered that offences which we should call criminal, if individuals only were injured by them, were dealt with by civil procedure. Only those offences were strictly criminal with the Romans which more or less directly affected the public peace. See Mommsen, I. 158, 160, 449.

§ 9. **certamen**, 'their fighting energy,' II. 30. 2.

promulgata, c. 9. 5.

§ 10. **inchoata**, 'left unfinished,' c. 22. 1. Apparently Livy means that the census was not considered finished, because the *lustrum* was not held.

decimum ab origine. The census appears to have been instituted at the time of the Servian Reform. The *lustrum* may have been older. *Decimum* cannot be explained with the information we have. Livy appears from the addition of *ferunt* not to wish to make himself responsible for the statement.

§ 11. **infesta**, sc. *sibi*, that is, 'divided into hostile factions.'

c. xxv. § 3. **posset...ademisset.** The motives, described by the subj., as at work in the mind of Quinctius. Livy implies that Caeso was dead, though he has not stated the fact.

iusto, 'just,' 'righteous,' not 'regular' as in c. 11. 9.

pio, prompted by natural feelings of duty towards a kinsman. 'Made war upon the false witness as a duty he owed to Justice and his kinsman.'

§ 5. **foedere**, c. 24. 10.

§ 6. **hostili** implies open, regular hostility, with reference to the *rupto foedere* alone.

legati, i.e. the *Fetiales* or priests who represented Rome in the ceremonies attendant on international transactions.

§ 7. **umbra opaca**, ablative.

c. xxvi. § 1. **benigne**, 'ungrudgingly,' 'freely,' opposite of *maligne*.

§ 2. **Eretum**, a Sabine town stood where afterwards the via Nomentana and the via Salaria united.

comparati ad. Not so usual as the *dat* or *cum* with ablative. But *ad* alone = 'compared with' sometimes.

§ 3. **magnopere**, II. 64. 3.

§ 4. **ut fit**, II. 4. 5.

munitiones, besieging works.

§ 7. **audire**. The conversational *audi* used to draw special attention to what the speaker is going to say, turned into infin. dependent on *operae pretium*. 'To listen (give me their attention) to what follows.'

It must always be remembered that Livy wrote for 'recitation.'

qui = *eos qui*.

§ 8. **unica**, II. 58. 5.

navalia. A dockyard and arsenal which was situated, according to Livy, in the Campus Martius, opposite to the eastern portion of the Campus Vaticanus, which was known as the *Prata Quinctia*.

§ 9. **quum araret**. Equivalent in value to the present participle.

quod bene, &c., relative sentence in apposition to what follows. A regular religious form of invoking a blessing on any important undertaking, public or private. Comp. *Quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque sit*, Cic. de Div. I. 42. 102, and c. 34, 2 below.

tugurio, c. 13. 10.

§ 12. **nimium imperii**, II. 11. 4. 'It was overmuch power for one man to have.' *nimium imperii* is the whole object after *rata*. 'Too much power!' was what was passing in their minds. There is no need to supply *dictaturam* and make *nimium imperii* a tertiary predicate.

ipso imperio. The MSS. have *in* before these words, but most editors have rightly rejected it. The ablative is comparative.

vehementiorem, cf. II. 30. 4.

c. xxvii. § 1. **et qui...esset**, adj. sentence coupled to adj. phrase *patriciae gentis*. The MSS. have *sed*, which makes a very awkward and involved sentence.

pedibus. Patricians would usually serve in the cavalry, which was composed of the richest of the freeholders.

§ 2. **claudi...agere.** These two sentences, forming an elaborate chiasmus, express the cessation of private, as the *iustitium* of public business.

§ 3. **Martio.** Apparently a gloss. The position of the word is meaningless, and the *Campus Martius* was not a likely place for a commander, who did not want to lose time, to muster his troops for a march to Mount Algidus. Probably some other *Campus* is meant, possibly the *Campus Martialis* on the Caelian, Ovid, Fasti, III. 519. In that case *Martio in Campo* may possibly be a corruption for *Martiali Campo*. The position of the adj. would be more intelligible in speaking of a less well known locality.

§ 4. **militi**, II. 20. 12.

vallum, wood for making the stakes.

§ 5. **iuventus**, men of the military age.

§ 6. **si** &c., the condition under which the readiness for battle would be realized.

tulisset. Intrans., so *via fert*, *fert animus*, &c. We use 'led' in the same way.

gradum. In this use the word has passed exactly as our word 'pace,' from the meaning of 'a step' to that of the rate at which the step is repeated. In athletic cant, the phrase *addere gradum* would be exactly rendered by 'to put on pace.'

§ 7. **puncto**, &c. 'The most momentous events (crises), often turned on the action of a single moment,' 'a minute lost or gained might alter the history of nations.' Lit. 'the inclinations (that is, taken out of the metaphor, the beginning of a certain direction or course) of great events, turned (began) in a moment of time.'

§ 8. **signa constituunt**, cf. 7. 3.

c. xxviii. § 1. **cum armis.** *Cum* with abl. instead of the simple abl. denoting manner or attendant circumstance must be used when (1) the presence of a weapon is expressed, *cum*

gladio, &c.; (2) the presence of other circumstances, e.g. disease, mental emotion, armed force, &c. where no attribute is added. It may be used also where such an attribute is added. Roby, Lat. Gr. § 1235.

§ 2. **longo agmine**, in a continuous extended line, opp. to the usual battle order in divided maniples, centuries, &c.

§ 3. **superat**, cf. ii. 50. 6.

§ 4. **ultro**, ii. 13. 2.

§ 6. **rem in discrimine esse**. 'That fighting had begun,' lit. 'That things were in process of decision by conflict.'

§ 8. **et vix**, ii. 22. 3.

remiserat, intrans., 'slackened.'

prior, sc. *pugna*.

§ 9. **ne in occidione**. 'To be content with victory without extermination,' lit. 'not to place victory in (make it depend on) extermination.'

in takes the abl. as a rule after verbs of placing, compare ii. 14. 4.

§ 10. **Corbione**, a place at the E. extremity of the Tusculan hills, modern Rocca Priora, Burn, R. and C. p. 380, cf. c. 30, n. 29.

c. xxix. § 2. **et tu**, &c. This scene is dramatic but difficult historically. As soon as a dictator was appointed, the consuls became subordinate to him, but it is a question whether he had authority to order a consul to lay down his office. The narrative also makes no mention of an election to fill the place of Minucius, which should have been held if he had really abdicated. Livy alludes to the scene in viii. 33. 14.

legatus, cf. iii. 5. 6.

§ 3. **libram pondo**, a pound in weight. The *libra* is often omitted with numerals or fractions, so that *pondo* practically = pound or pounds, xxvii. 4, *pateram ex quinque pondo auri factam*.

§ 4. **praefecto urbis**, c. 3. 6.

§ 5. **cum**, c. 28. 1.

iocis, the license of soldiers at triumphs is constantly alluded to in different writers.

comissantium, (Gk. κωμάζειν), like a procession of Bacchanalian revellers.

§ 8. **extremo anno**, here as c. 24. 9, must apparently mean the consular year. But why Nautius should have been absent all the winter is not at all clear, nor why Minucius should require to be superseded, especially after the victory gained.

tenuere, II. 42. 2.

c. xxx. § 1. **faciebat** agrees with the nearest subject.

§ 2. **exarserant animis**, more usually *animi*, but the phrase is on the analogy of *exardescere ira*, &c.

§ 3. **subitarium**, c. 4. 4.

§ 4. **vincebatur**, 'was on the point of,' &c. Imperf. = *in eo erat ut*, &c., cf. II. 10.

§ 5. **id.** The present body of protectors of the commons was too small, as shown by their powerlessness to carry their law.

plebi, attributive to *praesidium*, which is abstr. for concrete.

§ 7. **itaque.** The *ita* here qualifies *crearentur*.

c. xxxi. § 1. **de...publicando.** According to Mommsen, 'a law to make the Aventine which had hitherto been a temple grove and uninhabited, domain land, and to distribute it among plebeian *possessores*.' Livy forgets apparently that in I. 33 he has ascribed the peopling of the hill to Ancus Martius. It is not quite clear in what sense he uses the word *publicare*, probably in the general one of 'throwing open to the people.' Dionysius represents the hill as public land partially occupied, partly by people who had a right there, partly by people who had not. The former were left in possession, the latter turned out with compensation. He speaks of this distribution of the Aventine as a sort of compensation to the plebs for being excluded from the public domain in the country districts and therefore probably means that they occupied it on the same terms as the *possessores* in the other case. The law was a *lex sacrata*, c. 32. 7, II. 8. 2.

§ 2. **celebrant**, cf. II. 42. 6.

suo biennio. That is, in the two years since the election of ten instead of five tribunes.

§ 3. **morandi**, c. 24. 1.

cum exercitu, c. 28. 1.

in sua, &c. 'On the very spot which they had themselves occupied on Algidus.' The reverse order, whole and part, would be commoner.

§ 4. **invidiae**, dative. 'This was the means of making the consuls unpopular with the army.'

ad, as often (e.g. *ad plebem criminari*, &c.), exactly = πρός with accus., comp. διαβάλλειν τινὰ πρός τινα.

§ 5. **itaque ergo**, pleonasm used, as frequently, to give emphasis. Cf. Ter. Eun. 317, *Itaque ergo amantur*, where the emphasis is used to express irony, cf. Livy, i. 25.

§ 6. **indignatione**, ii. 12. 1.

et...et. The second *et* = *et tamen*, 'If they could be, &c. the tribunes could not, &c.'

§ 7. **promulgata**, iii. 9. 4.

consenuerat. It had been published, had been before the people, so long that it had lost the vigour of youth. Cicero uses this word of laws falling into abeyance, *vetustate consenescere*. The metaphorical use of the word is common in all applications.

communiter. Mommsen, i. 289 n. It is pretty evident that the plebeians were eligible for the decemvirate, notwithstanding § 8.

aequandae libertatis, iii. 24. 1.

§ 8. **laturum**. The MSS. give *daturum*, which Mommsen says need not be altered because this extraordinary magistracy was not *obliged* to submit its laws to the *comitia*, though as a matter of fact the first decemvirs did so.

mores iuraque, a whole expression in two parts, corresponding to *instituta* in the construction. *Instituta*, the political arrangements, *mores iuraque*, the social and legal practices.

c. xxxii. § 1. **legumque**, '*with* the law,' ii. 12. 13, &c.

exspectatio, ii. 4. 3.

§ 2. **foeda**, anaphora, most frequent in the case of subordinate conjunctions. In the present case the repetition heightens the pathos of the description, cf. i. praef. 10, *Foedum inceptu foedum exitu*.

§ 3. **flamen** = flagmen. 'The burner' (the suffix masc., usually neut. in Latin) is the term for a priest attached to a special deity.

Quirinalis. When the Palatine city was amalgamated with the Quirinal or hill city, duplicate religious institutions were established, and so to the original war-god (*Mars*, 'the Killer') was added a second (Quirinus, 'the Spear-god.' Marquardt, ii. 318) with his separate *flamen* and guild. Mommsen, i. 87, 175.

legere. By cooptation, the mode of election into the augural body.

§ 7. **plebeii.** c. 31. 7.

c. xxxiii. § 2. **principia.** ii. 4. 3.

luxuriavere. ii. 48. 2, 21. 6.

§ 4. **rettulerat,** &c. Omitted by Livy before. The account of Dionysius is different. He represents that both consuls were unwilling to propose the resolution; that they held the consular elections as soon as possible, in order to shift the matter on to another year; that then Menenius fell ill, and Tertius endeavoured on that ground to put off the measure till next year, but was forced by a combination of the consuls elect, and the tribunes, to summon the senate and propose the bill.

§ 7. **magistratus.** Collective use = the board of decemvirs.

§ 8. **decimo die** = *decimo quoque.* They took it in turn to administer justice, so that each man's turn came every tenth day.

praefectum iuris. An expression not used elsewhere, but evidently meant by Livy to express the decemvir whose day of office it was. The account of Dionysius is clearer. He says that each of the decemvirs in turn represented the whole body, as chief magistrate, assuming the insignia, summoning the senate, &c., for a fixed term of days, whilst the others appeared pretty much as private individuals (ὀλίγῳ τινὶ διήλλαττον ὀφθῆναι τῶν πολλῶν). But all administered justice.

in. 'While they acted in perfect harmony with one another.' ii. 23. 4.

unica. ii. 58. 5.

qui consensus. 'A harmony which might under some circumstances be prejudicial,' &c.

§ 9. **sine provocatione.** c. 24. 7.

§ 10. **et.** And, what is more.

accusator. ii. 1. 4.

cuius rei. 'To accuse a man whom he had a legal right to judge at his own bar.' Lit. 'accuser of that man, of whom, as a prisoner at the bar, he was the legally constituted judge.'

vi. Power. Comp. ii. 30. 4.

c. xxxiv. § 1. **promptum.** Ready.

hoc. Adverbial = 'thus,' 'like this.'

ferrent. 'Received.' Cf. i. 50. 9, *Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt.*

exspectatione. ii. 12. 1.

§ 2. **quod bonum**, &c. c. 26. 9.

§ 4. **quid**, &c. 'Point out in the interest of all, any faults of excess or defect in the several articles.' *In medium*, the prominent notion of this, in the various phrases into which it enters, is that of publicity, but *conferre* here adds the implication of general advantage. So *consulere in medium.*

iussisse. 'Passed.' The people being thus invited to criticise the laws before they became law, might be said to propose as well as pass them.

posset. c. 50. 10.

§ 6. **ad**, 'in accordance with,' 'by,' qualifies *correctae*, so *ad nutum*, *voluntatem*, &c.

§ 7. **velut.** ii. 6. 10.

§ 8. **appellatione.** Modal abl. For the fact comp. c. 36. 6.

c. xxxv. § 1. **trinum.** Three market-days (=not less than seventeen days) was the ordinary notice required in public matters, e.g. the promulgation of a bill was for three *nundinae.*

§ 3. **dimissa.** 'The possibility of being unseated.' Lit. 'His position being now sent forth into danger.'

ea aetate. Abl. of circumstance. Here almost=*pro ea*, &c. 'Considering his age and the offices he had held.' 'At his age, and after the offices,' &c. That is, his youth and decemvirate. But Livy has pretty evidently misunderstood his authorities. He represents this Appius Claudius as the son of the Appius Claudius of ii. 56, &c. (see §§ 7 and 9, *patruo*, &c.), but at the same time in c. 33. 7 speaks of his change of feeling towards the *plebs*, whereas the younger man could not have been notorious at that time as an enemy of the plebs. And here the language is much more applicable to the elder Appius. Probably Livy's authorities in both places were speaking of the elder man, and he understood what they said of the younger. It is curious that in a fragment of the Capitoline Fasti the decemvir is represented to be the Appius Claudius whom Livy represents as the father of the decemvir.

§ 4. **propior.** ii. 64. 6. For the comparison of a person with an action, ii. 13. 8, supra *Coclites*, &c. *id facinus esse.* Compare our expression, 'He looked like doing so and so.'

§ 6. **in.** ii. 3. 2.

in ordinem. A metaphor from the army. 'All this ostentatious identifying of himself with the rank and file of the people, and appearing to be hand and glove with,' &c.

§ 8. **semet.** Comp. c. 21. 7, where apparently C. Claudius was presiding at the *comitia* in order that his colleague Quinctius might be re-elected.

enimvero, ii. 22. 6.

quod bene, c. 26. 9.

impedimentum. 'Turned the obstacle into an opportunity.' Lit. caught up what was (intended) to hamper him as (for) an opportunity.

§ 9. **per coitionem**, 'by concerted action.' That is, in concert with the other candidates so manipulating the votes as to keep certain men out.

fastigii, ii. 27. 6.

c. xxxvi. § 1. **alienae** is strictly speaking pleonastic; for *persona* means (1) a mask, (2) (as here) a theatrical character, which obviously does not belong to the person who acts it. But the word heightens the description of Appius's insincerity. 'He threw down the mask.'

iam inde, ii. 1. 1.

arbitris, ii. 33. 11.

§ 2. **impotentibus**, 'unbridled.' The full form is *impotens sui*, without control over one's self, and properly should only be used of persons, but is easily transferred to thoughts and qualities.

coquebant, 'matured.' Metaphor from fruit ripening. So *concocta consilia* with the double sense of forming and maturing.

aditus, genitive of quality or description. It means here 'accessibility.'

rem, quite general. 'They pursued their course.'

§ 3. **sollemnes**, very likely true, but absolutely contradictory to c. 6. 1.

terroris is almost concrete, and obj. gen. after *demunt*. 'The day was marked by an imposing and terrifying spectacle,' lit., 'by the indication of a great terror.'

servassent, used absolutely, or rather *ita...ut...iret*, form the object after it, stating the method of procedure observed.

regium. The kings were attended by twelve lictors, and, in the early times, the consul whose month it was, by the same number. Livy reminds his readers that this was part of the royal insignia, in order to prepare for the twelve kings mentioned directly afterwards.

in orbem, in a cycle, ii. 15. 2.

suam cuiusque vicem, adv. qualifying *omnes;* 'to each *decemvir* in turn till all had held it.' Lit. 'had passed through all, each-one's-own-turn-wise.' The adv. subst. *vicem* is frequently expanded by possessive pronouns.

§ 4. **secures**, ii. 1. 8, 8. 2.

nec, 'and indeed...not.' Explanatory use of *nec*, most frequent in such expressions as, *neque ita multo post, neque iniuria, neque immerito;* and in parenthesis. So *et* is also used positively, e.g. *consules religio tenebat quod prodigiis aliquot nuntiatis, non facile litabant: et* (and in fact) *ex Campania nuntiata erant, &c.*

attinuisse. Cic. ad Div. iv. 7. 3, *De quo quid sentiam nihil attinet dicere.*

interpretabantur, c. 38. 10.

§ 5. **etiam** probably qualifies *ad metum*, 'If it was only to &c.'

ad, 'with a view to,' so ii. 27. 6, *ad consulum ignominiam.*

§ 6. **intercessionem**, c. 32. 6, 34. 8.

quaedam, c. 33. 10.

§ 7. **hominum**, &c. 'They were all for persons and not for principles.' The gen. is gen. of possessor, like Greek, e.g. ἀλλ' ἔστι τοῦ λέγοντος εἰ φόβους λέγοι. Livy uses the phrase c. 59. 4, and elsewhere. Cicero has *totus noster, vester, est*, but as an ordinary idiom it seems to be confined to writers of the silver age.

§ 8. **conflabant**, metaphor from metals, to make combinations in metal by the action of the forge, so 'to fabricate' 'concoct.'

stetisse, 'that he had not been content with.' Frequent idiom, e.g. Cic. de Off. iii. § 110, *non enim Regulus suo iudicio stetit.*

§ 9. **perpetuoque**, ii. 42. 9.

c. xxxvii. § 1. **inde...unde**, ii. 2. 5. For the thought compare Plato Repub. viii. p. 569 c. ὁ δῆμος φεύγων ἂν καπνὸν δουλείας ἐλευθέρων εἰς πῦρ δουλείας δούλων ἂν ἐμπεπτωκὼς εἴη.

§ 2. **et credere**, adversative, ii. 22. 3.

§ 4. **quoque**, c. 34. 6.

§ 5. **exspectabant quam mox** expresses immediate expectation, impatience, and surprise that a thing does not happen. 'They looked every day to see,' 'they wondered how much longer they were to wait for,' &c. So Cic. pro Rosc. Am. *exspecto quam mox Charea hac oratione utatur.* 'I am looking anxiously for,' &c.

rem, &c., relative sentence expressed by sentence in apposition made with *res*.

quum, ii. 27. 1.

§ 7. **ferre agere**, asyndeta, *ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν* 'to plunder,' xxii. 3, *res sociorum ferri agique vidit.*

aequa. Madvig's emendation for *qua*, 'under the favour of fortune.' Comp. Cic. ad Quint. Fr. ii. 3, *Nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu.*

c. xxxviii. § 1. **subrogatis**, strictly used of the election of a magistrate to fill a vacancy caused during the year, here used generally.

inhibendum, exercising, almost = *adhibere*, and used absolutely. Plautus uses it in the same way.

imminutis agrees with both *animis* and *insignibus*.

§ 2. **deploratur** implies lamentation over what is lost, from its association with deaths and funerals. Cf. *ploratio.*

indignabantur, sc. *populi*, change of subject.

§ 3. **in discordia.** c. 28. 9.

eam. ii. 10. 2.

§ 6. **tempestas.** Cf. ii. 55. 9.

§ 7. **tentationem**, generally used either of an attack (e.g. *morbi*), or a trial, proof (e.g. *perseverantiae*), is used here of an attempting with obj. gen. of gerundive and subst. after it. 'Would be the prelude to an attempt.' Lit. 'would be (the beginning of) the process of attempting.'

sibi. Dependent on the notion of *adimendi* contained in *abolendi.*

§ 8. **convertit** = *convertit in* &c. Turned upon itself. The omission of the prepositional phrase begins with the Augustan period.

§ 9. **civitati** depends on the subst. *quicquam solitum.*

§ 10. **ipsi.** The decemvirs. *consensu* qualifies *invisum.*

interpretarentur. To take a view, put a construction on a thing, expressed in the obj. clause. So c. 36. 4. 'They explained the presence of the axes (by saying) &c.'

iam patefieri. ii. 9. 3.

§ 11. **indignitate.** c. 2. 5.

suarum rerum. c. 36. 7. Here without *toti.*

publica, sc. *re.*

§ 12. **pignera.** A senator not attending the senate when summoned was liable to a *pigneris captio*, that is a summary distress levied on his goods. Cic. Philipp. i. 5, *Coguntur enim non pignoribus sed eorum, de quorum honore agitur, gratia:* Long's note.

consulto, adv.

detrectarent. Metaphor from animals resisting the yoke; so frequently used of refusing to perform a duty, with accus. of the thing resisted or shirked.

13. **privatisque.** Epexegetical of *iis, qui* &c. ii. 5. 7.

si vis abesset, qualifying *privatis.* Magistrates, whose term had expired, with no authority therefore except what they took by force.

c. xxxix. § 1. **obnoxie,** 'submissively.' The sense is common in the adj. from the original sense of 'liable to punishment at a person's hand,' so 'in the power of a person, &c.'

accepimus. Irregular comparison, *accepimus dictas* being equivalent to *sententiae dictae, ut accepimus.*

§ 2. **postulando, ut** &c. A senator was at liberty, when a motion was before the senate, to demand leave to speak on some matter affecting the well-being of the commonwealth, or to review the state of the commonwealth generally. He was said *egredi relationem.*

§ 4. **nominis.** sc. *regii.*

deinceps. ii. 64. 3.

sacris etiam. ii. 2. 2.

§ 5. **eodem.** There is evidently something wrong here. Weissenb. suggests *tum uno* or *rege quidem.*

§ 6. **viderent ne.** 'They might find that' &c. *vide ne* =frequently ὅρα μή with *indic.* Cic. Philipp. ii. *Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii iure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuisses?* vide ne *etiam facilius.* 'I think you will find, &c.'

§ 7. **sua** is emphatic and opp. to *iniusta.*

vindicanda. This ablative, as well as *iniusta dominatione*, is modal or circumstantial, and, like the simple gerund, frequently, as nearly as possible equivalent to a present participle.

vindicanda belongs both to *libertate* and *dominatione*, though strictly applicable only to the former. 'Indignation vindicating her native freedom than Ambition asserting an unrighteous despotism.'

§ 8. **libertatis.** iii. 24. 1.

§ 9. **populares... optimates,** anachronism. The terms belong to the last century and a half of the Roman Republic.

c. xl. § 1. **irae.** For the abstr. subst. coupled to gerund. cf. i. 15. 4, *ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio.*

irae prob. means the decemvirs' anger. They could not see their way through (to) wrath or relenting; that is, they could not see how far they could maintain their angry attitude, or where they could begin to give way. But *irae* may possibly mean the people's anger. They could see no measure of (that is, no prospect of checking) the people's wrath, and no measure of giving way (that is, where they could begin to give way).

modum, 'limit,' or 'measure.'

§ 3. **meminisset.** ii. 2. 3.

§ 5. **quum.** 'Although.'

§ 6. **ita accipiebant.** c. 21. 7.

verbo. That is, without making a speech.

§ 7. **interregem.** c. 8. 2.

quodcunque. Madvig's emendation for *quoscunque.* If the latter is read, *censendo* is absolute and *quoscunque* subj. to *magistratus esse.* For demonstrative use of indef. relative, cf. ii. 44. 8.

§ 9. **socii...hi.** Distribution of the subject *qui...petissent,* 'supported others or took a leading part in attacking &c.'

§ 10. **turbido,** metaphor from muddy water.

§ 11. **etenim** and **haud fieri** are Madvig's emendation for *neminem* (one MS. has *nemini*) and *auferri* (the reading of all MSS.) Weissenb. prefers (as also Drakenborch) *neminem... afferre* which seems on the whole preferable.

verum, ii. 48. 2.

praeiudicium means properly a legal decision which formed the basis of further proceedings, such as is the decision of a coroner's inquest in England. It is used sometimes also more generally of a decision which forms a precedent for other cases. Livy here seems to combine the two meanings in this secondary use of it. L. Cornelius deprecated the passing of any resolution which would hamper or affect in any way the final decision of this important question, either by fixing the form it was to take, or by affording a precedent for the way in which it was to be decided.

§ 12. **decemvir.** *Decemvirum* (gen. pl.), for which there is some authority, is preferred by Weissenb. *Decemvirûm creor* seems certainly to be used.

§ 13. **in praesentia**, cf. iii. 7. 5.

§ 14. **praeverti**, c. 22. 2.

c. xli. § 1. **discederetur.** That it was divided into this opinion. The phrase arises from the practice of dividing the senate on amended proposals, the senators in favour of the proposal put, walking to one side of the house, those against it, to the other. 'The amendment was carried on a division by the influence of the younger members.' Cf. *pedibus ire in sententiam*, i.e. 'to give an opinion by walking only,' 'to give a silent vote.'

ferocioresque. The connexion is awkward and abrupt. Weissenb. thinks some word or words have fallen out here.

§ 2. **imaginariis.** Not ante-Augustan.

§ 3. **erit melius.** *Esse melius* is only so used with infin. dependent on it, in the future tense.

privato. Ethic dative, so xxiii. 12. 9, *senatori reticere.*

§ 4. **non,** &c. Lit. 'Not consulting the interests of the man whose interests he pretended to be consulting.' He pretended to be supporting Valerius while he was forwarding Claudius' plans. *complexus* is metaphorical.

gratia, instead of the more usual *copia*, with the idea of the favour bestowed in granting the permission.

§ 5. **ab,** ii. 14. 4.

§ 6. **ducta,** metaphor apparently from animals. 'If the consular form of government could be restored by gentle means.'

sine, &c., cf. cc. 39. 6, 40. 4.

§ 7. **silentio,** 'unopposed by,' &c., cf. iii. 18. 4.

iuniores, i.e. the men liable for active service. All Romans between 17 and 60 were bound to serve in the army, but after 46 a man was only liable to garrison duty, to guard the walls at home.

§ 8. **in bono.** *bonum* is used *ex sententia Decemvirorum. malitia* generally implies cunning of a low kind. 'Had the mind of an active intriguer rather than a loyal supporter of the good cause.'

§ 9. **collegaeque,** ii. 5. 7.

c. xlii. § 2. **illa,** sc. *noxia.*

per, ii. 11. 2. The abl. or *cum* with abl. might have been used with almost the same sense, but *per* expresses the *process* of the disgrace. It represents, as it were, a line of action with disgrace on both sides of it.

§ 4. **committentes**, ii. 45. 1, 'Not trusting themselves to fight on equal terms.'

§ 6. **per aetatem**, cf. c. 6—9.

§ 7. **ultro**, ii. 13. 2.

c. xliii. § 2. **per**, cf. 42. 10.

prospeculatum, rare word, for the more usual *speculatum*. In xxxiii. 1 the word is used of people watching from the walls for approach of a person.

§ 3. **comites**, ii. 1. 4.

§ 6. **permissu**, cf. iii. 18. 4.

§ 7. **placebat, ni**, ii. 10. 1.

maestitia...fama, ii. 36. 7.

c. xliv. § 1. **eventu**, i. 36. 7.

caedemque...regnoque, ii. 5. 7.

§ 2. **ordinem**, ii. 23. 4.

§ 5. **clienti**. A client originally could not institute a legal process, but must be represented by his *patronus*. But this rigid state of things was beginning to relax probably at the time of the Servian reform, and the altered relation may have been recognised in the Twelve Tables. See Mommsen, i. 91—94.

assereret. The process known as *vindicatio*, by which a person claimed property in the possession of another. *Asserere in servitutem* or *libertatem* (the latter more common) was said of a person who claimed to remove an individual from the possession of another, as slave, or as free. Both parties in such a suit would claim to have custody of the person claimed *pendente lite*. The praetor with whom it lay to decide this, was said *dare vindicias secundum (in) libertatem* or *servitutem*, according as he assigned the custody to one claimant or the other. It would appear however that law required the judge *dare vindicias secundum libertatem* unless there were some strong reason to the contrary, c. 45. 2. The claimant to whom it was assigned gave security (*satis praestare*) that the person claimed should suffer no loss or damage, and should be forthcoming (if necessary) when the proceedings were closed. The law under which these proceedings took place, of course formed part of the Twelve Tables, § 12. Sir G. C. Lewis (ii. p. 210) thinks that Livy uses *dare vindicias* in a loose and popular sense, as expressing a decision of the entire right. But this is inconsistent with c. 45. 3 and 46. 7. It is not improbable that the decision of the custody or mesne possession might

often practically be a final decision of the case, the person against whom it was given not caring to proceed further after such a *praeiudicium*.

§ 6. **ludi.** According to Dionysius it was in one of these schools that Appius first saw Virginia. Possibly, among other vexatious oppressions of the people, the decemvirs acted as a schools' examination board. According to the more received interpretation, these elementary schools were held in *pergulae*, that is, a sort of verandah projecting from the front of houses or shops. As the art of writing appears to have been very ancient in Rome (Mommsen, i. 224) there is nothing improbable in the existence of these elementary schools in the earliest times.

§ 7. **populare.** To be closely connected with *celebratur*, 'were well known by name as friends of the people.' The idea of *celebratur* is that the names were frequently repeated by people in conversation. ii. 42. 6.

indignitas rei. c. 2. 5.

§ 8. **grassari.** Here used simply in the sense of advancing step by step. Comp. ii. 27. 7.

auctoribus. ii. 1. 4.

qui aderant. The girl's supporters.

§ 9. **fabulam...argumenti.** Stage terms.

quippe. Used with a participial substantive as = *quippe qui* or *quia* with subj. Comp. ii. 33. 8.

furto. Adverbial. Cf. iii. 18. 4.

§ 10. **interim.** Cf. § 5.

§ 12. **integram.** ii. 5. 1.

c. xlv. § 1. **quam** = *quantum*.

§ 2. **personis.** Legal use of the word, in which it signifies the individual person who represents legal claims or rights, opp. to *res*, the things in question.

variet. The nom. is *lex*. The verb used intransitively.

in iis enim...in ea. Antithetical sentences. 'Now whereas in the case of persons claimed as free, the law was as they said; in the case of a girl under her father's control the father was the only person to whom the owner (= the man who claimed the person as slave) could yield the custody of her.' What Appius says is, that, had the person claimed been *sui iuris*, he would have given the custody to those who claimed the girl as free, but, as she was *in patris manu*, the absence of her natural

guardian prevented his doing so. This decision, in which A. took advantage of a loophole in the law, is represented as perversion of justice.

id. Sc. *dare vindicias secundum libertatem.*

in. 'In the case of.'

possessione. Custody.

§ 3. **facere** depends on *placere.*

quin, with subj. introduces a negative interrogative modal sentence subordinate to a *negative* principal sentence. The use of it within these limits depended on usage. In Livy's time this was wider and freer than in the previous periods.

sistendam. *sistere* was said of the person in whose favour the *vindiciae* were given, and who was bound to produce the person claimed in court. The present case was exceptional, this decision being a sort of preliminary or provisional granting of custody in the absence of the father to whom it would naturally have been assigned.

sistendam. The gerundive is not common after *promitto.* It is less personal than the future infin., 'guarantee the production of the maiden in court.'

in. Of a limit of time, 'against,' 'for.'

§ 4. **quisquam unus.** Pleonasm. Cf. *Itaque ergo,* III. 31. 5.

§ 5. **quum...crederet** qualifies *data via.*

summovet. Conative. II. 29. 5. The word is the regular word used of lictors clearing the way. Horace, Odes, II. 16. 10.

§ 6. **tacitum.** Of things. I. 50. 9, *Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt.* Lit. 'to carry through unspoken about.' 'You must use steel to remove me if you are to carry out the secret villany you are intending without protest.'

§ 8. **tuendae.** c. 24. 1.

§ 9. **referes.** Used probably in the same sense as in *referre, reportare victoriam.* The carrying out of the decision is regarded as a victory to be won.

§ 11. **viderit.** II. 40. 8.

vindiciis. Short for *vindicias postulanti.*

vindicantem. Used here in a general sense. See c. 46. 7.

c. XLVI. § 2. **nec.** II. 22. 3.

tamen, i.e. in spite of the lictors having surrounded Icilius.

quum. Causal.

spirantem. So *spirare bellum, quietem, amores,* &c.; here probably the idea of *spiritus* 'pride' is suggested.

§ 3. **iam.** If he had not known it before.

petulantiae. 'Passion,' 'sensuality.' The word is connected with *peto,* and signifies 'forwardness,' 'want of reserve or modesty' in various aspects.

datum. Cf. Horace, Sat. ii. ii. 94, *Das aliquid famae.*

interpositurum. 'Would leave the case *in statu quo.*' Lit. 'would not interpose a decision,' that is, 'would not give a decision which would prevent further action on the part of the parties to the suit until the actual trial took place.' *Decretum* is specially used of decisions of a judge during the preliminary proceedings of a case.

vindicari, sc. *in libertatem,* again used generally rather than technically. It means here that M. Claudius should allow Virginia to remain in the keeping of her friends.

§ 4. **utique.** 'Anyhow,' in the sense of 'certainly,' strengthening the negative by generalising it. Cf. xxviii. 29. 8, *Nec ad perniciem nostram Carthaginiensi* utique *aut duce aut exercitu opus esse* (*videbatur*). Comp. ii. 27. 7.

§ 6. **in eo...si.** Like *ita...si,* of the only condition under which a thing is possible.

§ 7. **sponsoresque,** &c. Epexegetical of *vindicaret* (ii. 5. 7). 'To find the bail requisite as claimant of the girl's liberty,' cf. c. 44. 5. The use of *vindicare* in 45. 11, 46. 4, 7, 8, is semi-technical, and consequently a little vague. There had strictly speaking been no legal decision in the matter, but the request of Appius that Claudius would waive his right amounted to giving *vindiciae sec. lib.* provisionally for a day. Therefore the legal formalities of bail &c. had to be gone through.

tempus terens. To prevent Appius leaving the tribunal and so to forestall him in sending a message to the camp. Cf. § 10.

c. xlvii. § 1. **advocatione.** Abstract for concrete, ii. 10. 8.

§ 2. **in bello.** ii. 47. 10.

haec. Acc. after *contionabundus.* So xxv. 13. 4, *vitabundus castra hostium.*

§ 4. **obstinato.** ii. 15. 4.

verius. 'Or we ought rather to say, infatuation.' Compare the use of *magis.*

ultro. ii. 13. 2.

§ 5. **quem,** &c. The dependent interrogative sentence may be regarded as an accus. of respect, 'As to what preface,' 'if it be asked what, &c.' Or, the whole sentence may be regarded as a sort of anacolouthon. Livy, instead of saying *non referam* or something equivalent in the governing sentence, changing the construction and writing *forsan*, &c.

verum, predicate to the object *aliquem* (*sermonem*) 'may have recorded some one speech (of the speeches recorded) a true one,' i.e. 'may have given a true account somewhere in the speeches recorded.' Dionysius gives a full and circumstantial account of the speech, as if he had heard it himself. The difference is instructive. Livy wished to bring the facts of their history, especially the facts of the noblest parts of it, as well as he could before the minds of his countrymen. Dionysius wished to show the Romans, how much a Greek could teach them about their own history.

c. xlviii. § 3. **erit melius.** c. 41. 3.

summove. c. 45. 5.

iniuriae. ii. 4. 3.

§ 5. **Cloacinae.** The name, like *cloaca*, is derived from an old Latin word, *cluere = purgare.* It is an epithet of Venus, derived, according to Pliny, from the purifying of the Romans with myrtle branches in the vicinity of her statue after the rape of the Sabines. But it is more probable that *Cloacina* was an old Roman abstraction deity, afterwards identified for some unknown reason with Venus.

tabernas. The *novae tabernae* were on the N. side of the Forum, the *veteres* on the S. In after times both were occupied by bankers, and consequently frequently called *Argentariae.*

caput, ii. 5. 7. *Caput*, as the seat of life, was used to express the human being in the solemn formula of excommunication. Cf. *consecratio capitis.*

sanguine. In allusion to the sacrifices with which the *consecratio capitis* was accompanied.

§ 8. **eamne,** &c. The indignant interrogative infin. in orat. obliqua.

condicionem, lit. the terms or conditions on which a thing is done; used here rhetorically to express the results that a person has to look forward to in doing any action, 'Was this what they bore children for?'

cetera. Asyndeton.

dolor. ii. 4. 3. 'And all the outcries that rise naturally to the lips of indignant women appealing to us with such touching force (pathos) because their weaker minds are less able to control the expression (violence) of their grief;' lit. 'the other things that womanly indignation suggests to them complaining, the more pathetic as owing to the weakness of their mind the grief is more violent:' *maestus* implies the outward expression as well as the inward feeling.

§ 9. **tota**, c. 36. 7.

c. xlix. § 1. **per occasionem**, adv. qualifying *rep. lib.* ii. 11. 2.

§ 3. **Valerius...Horatius**, c. 39.

si iure ageret, sc. Appius. If Appius intended legal proceedings, they were ready to defend Icilius against the ex-magistrate.

vindicare seems to be used quite in a general sense with perhaps just a soupçon of legal phraseology suggested by the *iure ageret.*

fore, sc. *se*, repeated from above.

§ 5. **pro imperio**, 'assuming magisterial authority.' The context gives a slightly different sense here to that which the expression has in ii. 56.

animis, ii. 12. 8.

vitae. The dative instead of *de* with abl. after *metuo* on the analogy of *consulo*, is *post-Ciceronian.*

§ 6. **ad quae**. The MSS. have *atque*. Weissenb. retains the reading, coupling *agitatus* to *adsentiendo.*

ad after *trepidaverat* is used in the same sense as in ii. 8. 8. The hesitation, flurry, confusion was renewed each time a new plan was proposed to him. The plpf. is used because the summoning of the senate was the result of the cessation of the hesitation.

ex omni parte, in sense qualifies *quae*. 'Then after an agitating pause, during which he stood hesitating and perplexed, assenting in turn to the various suggestions of the many advisers who surrounded him.' Lit. 'at which (=as each was given) from every side, 'assenting to many advisers he had trepidated.'

§ 8. **nec...et** = *et...non...et*. Not only not...but. Comp. *οὔτε...τε*.

adventus, ii. 4. 3.

c. L. § 1. **Vecilio**, not known: prob. part of Algidus.

§ 3. **et.** 'And moreover,' 'then again.'

§ 4. **ex.** II. 6. 2.

§ 5. **supinas**, the attitude of prayer. Horace, Odes, III. 23. 1.

liberum. The generalizing plural heightens the pathos of the expression.

§ 7. **filiae.** It seems impossible to say whether this (as *gloriae* II. 7) is gen. or dat. Madvig says that the former is the usual constr., but Cicero and Livy as well as other writers use both cases. Cf. I. 34. 3, *Filio superstes.*

enim. The position is accounted for by the intimate connexion of *quoque* with *illis*. Cf. II. 18. 4.

§ 8. **documentum**, a warning to guard against, &c. c. 24. 1.

§ 9. **vindicaturum**, quite general sense. Livy seems to have been a little overpowered by this word in this passage.

§ 10. **eadem illa**, obj. after *querendo docendoque*, and subject to the subordinate interrogative clause *quanto...videri* which depends on *docendo* only.

oportuerit. Madvig's emendation for MSS. *potuerint*, which may however be defended by comparison with c. 34. 5.

profligatam iam rem. That the decemvirate (government) was as good as overthrown.

§ 11. **insecuti.** Emendation of Gronovius for *insecutos*. This necessitates enclosing *quum* in brackets.

§ 12. **inhiberet**, c. 38. 1.

§ 15. **Tarpeius**, c. 31. Julius, c. 33. Sulpicius, c. 31. 8.

qui, 'what they meant by occupying,' &c. Gk. *οἵτινες*, concrete where we use abstract.

§ 16. **nullodum.** This use of the enclitic *dum* after *nullus* is only found in Livy.

offerre, infin. after *nec-satis-audentibus*=*vix audentibus*. 'Not quite daring.' Otherwise, *ut* with subj. would be required. *Satis*, as frequently in the comedians, expresses a reasonable or average degree of the action implied in the word it qualifies, rather than a degree sufficient for a special purpose. Compare the interrogative use of *Satin?*

ut...mitterent. Dependent imperative.

c. li. § 1. **quanquam.** This use of *quanquam* without a verb is found in prae-Augustan writers (Sallust and Cicero) but rarely.

§ 2. **militari honore,** in respect of their office being military, circumstantial abl., but implying cause.

tribunos mil. These would supersede the regularly appointed military tribunes. The number of the new tribunes probably corresponded to the number of the *tribuni plebis.*

§ 3. **iudicia,** 'your recognition of my services.' This use of *iudicium* of public action expressing a favourable opinion of a public man, a testimony to his merits, is common in Cicero, e.g. de Imp. Pomp. *De quo homine vos...tanta et tam praeclara iudicia fecistis.*

§ 8. **ne.** Icilius, anxious to become tribune, and afraid that the Aventine military tribunes would in all probability be elected tribunes of the plebs as a matter of course if there were no other candidates, procured a similar election of ten military tribunes in the Sabine army. This made 20 candidates for the ten tribuneships of the plebs, and gave him as one of the 20 an equal chance of election.

praerogativam. Prop. the century, chosen by lot, which voted first. It was then used generally to express, as here, a previous election or choice as influencing subsequent ones, because the voting of the *praerogativa* had such a strong influence on the course of the rest of the voting. This influence so often alluded to, was due among other and general causes, such as influence elections nowadays also, to the special religious feeling about omens so strong in the Romans. The action of the *praerogativa* after the solemn auspices taken before the *comitia* would be regarded more or less as an indication of the will of the gods. *comitiorum* is used here loosely for any assembly convened for the purpose of election.

§ 9. **imminens.** Used in this metaphorical sense with *in* and accus. as well as with dat. Cf. Cic. Philipp. v. 7. 20, *Huius mendicitas aviditate coniuncta in nostras fortunas imminebat.*

sub signis. i.e. in military array. ii. 20. 10.

§ 12. **ante**=*abhinc,* before the time at which the speaker is speaking.

§ 13. **in ordinem,** c. 35. 6, 'that an attempt was being made to force them out of office (to reduce them to the ranks).'

c. lii. § 2. **descensuram.** 'Would any deep impression be made;' lit. 'would anxiety descend into.' Cf. i. 19, *Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset,* &c.

qua. The principal MSS. have *sciturosque sine...nequeant.* The reading in the text is Madvig's modification of a previous emendation, *qua*, in his view, having fallen out in consequence of the previous *que*. *Qua* (interrog.) agrees with *potestate.* The construction *sine*, &c. is very rare, but found xlv. 25. 7, *sine rogatione ulla perlata.*

§ 3. **Nomentana** issued with the *via Salaria* from the Porta Collina.

Ficulensi. Named probably from the town *Ficulea* mentioned i. 38.

Sacro. ii. 32. 2.

§ 4. **per aetatem.** c. 6. 9.

sancta, 'respected;' lit. 'inviolable under pains and penalties.'

§ 5. **utique** qualifies *vocatis*, 'and especially when,' &c. The two sentences, *In foro...forum*, form a sort of chiasmus, but they are tame and not up to Livy's usual mark.

§ 6. **ruere**, &c. Metaphor from a fire, *hysteron-proteron*, for *ruere* is the effect of *deflagrare.* For the metaphor compare the use of *incendium.*

amplexi. Comp. Martial, i. 15. 9, *Haec utraque manu complexuque assere toto.*

§ 9. **ne** = *nedum.* 'The usage (of *ne* and *nedum*) arises from the prevention of the occurrence of the greater event being rhetorically regarded as the purpose of the occurrence of the less event.' Roby, Lat. Gr., § 1658. For the use of *ne* instead of the more usual *nedum* (that is *ne* with enclitic *dum* added, to make a special form for the special usage) comp. Sallust, Cat. 11, *Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant, ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.*

c. liii. § 1. **quibus videretur.** At their own discretion. They were to offer such terms as it might seem good to them to offer. For the pregnant use of the impersonal verb without the dative, cf. Caesar, B. G. v. 58, *ubi visum est, vesperum dispersi discedunt.* The sense of the phrase practically amounts to giving the consuls full powers to treat with the plebs.

§ 2. **quippe**, &c. Naturally...for they were well known to have advocated the cause of freedom, &c.

§ 4. **provocationem**, &c. c. 32. 6.

et. A verb must be supplied from *repetebant.*

§ 5. **igni.** According to some authors the punishment in the earliest times for high-treason.

§ 6. **consilii**, partitive genitive. Lit. 'the things which partook of deliberate judgment;' 'the demands suggested by your calmer judgment.' *consilii*, opposed to *irae*.

§ 7. **ruitis...vultis.** In Plautus both moods are found with *quippe qui*. In Cicero and Caesar only the subjunctive (in the former only two doubtful instances of the indicative occur). Sallust has the indicative eleven times. Livy uses both moods, but more commonly the subjunctive. The object of the indicative in historians is greater vividness, the particle usually associated with a subjective expression of cause being used with the objective mood.

§ 8. **nunquamne.** II. 7. 8.

§ 9. **satis, &c.** Insignificance has abundant reason to be content when it lives, &c.

humili is opposed to *metuendos*. *Humili* is the correction of Madvig for *humilis*. The latter, as he shows, is out of keeping with the context, especially with what follows. The question moreover was not about humbling the decemvirs, but punishing them, and it would be almost nonsense, under the circumstances, to speak of their being abundantly humbled by living on equal terms with the rest of the citizens. Further, *humilis* is connected with *plebeius* in c. 56. 13.

vivit. The indicative because the proposition, apparently general, is really particular, referring to the actual condition of the *plebs*.

§ 10. **etiamsi quando.** If the time *is* coming when you will make yourselves a formidable power, yet you must wait until, &c....and then, &c. The apodosis begins at *quum*.

etiamsi quando = even if ever, and represents a hypothesis which the people addressed are supposed to regard as a certainty.

statuetis. Imperative future.

capite, 'lives,' with reference to the cases of Coriolanus and others.

c. LIV. § 1. **facerent**, &c., depends on *permittentibus*.

§ 2. **alii** = *ceteri*. Cf. c. 20. 7.

§ 4. **dandus**, 'sacrificed.'

§ 5. **pontifex.** Asconius on Cic. pro Balbo c. 24 says, *Decem tribunos pl. per pontificem*, quod magistratus nullus erat, *crearerunt.* The tradition, if true, points to a special form of election, legalised for a special emergency. The connexion of the pontifex with it is probably due to the *lex sacrata* by which the position of the tribunes was originally established.

§ 6. **laetitia.** II. 36. 7.

§ 7. **quicquid.** II. 35. 5.

congratulantur. Sc. *inter se.* The word is rare. The participial construction after *gratulor*, expressing the subject for congratulation, is common.

§ 8. **Quod bonum, faustum, &c.** Cf. II. 49. 8.

§ 11. **silentio.** c. 38. 1.

§ 15. **consulibus.** The tradition that Livy follows represents this assembly (the *comitia tributa*, cf. *concilium plebis:* see II. 56. 4) presided over by the patrician pontifex, as re-establishing not only the tribunate, but the consular authority. But the account is very improbable. No such *rogatio* as that mentioned here was required. After the fall of the decemvir an *interrex* appointed in the ordinary way would appoint another *interrex* who would hold the consular *comitia.*

Flaminiis, named after C. Flaminius Nepos, who was killed at the Trasimenus. As censor he constructed the circus and the road also named after him, B.C. 220. The district (also called Circus Fl.) formed the southern portion of the Campus Martius, between the *Via Lata* and the river.

c. LV. § 1. **nec.** II. 22. 3.

§ 3. Compare II. 56.

velut, 'practically.'

in controverso iure. 'A disputed constitutional question.'

in, 'in the class,' or 'sphere of.' Cf. 17. 8.

telum. A not unfrequent metaphor: cf. Cic. de Senect. III. 9, *arma senectutis sunt artes exercitationesque virtutum.*

§ 4. **sanciendo.** *sancire legem* = to hallow a law, that is, 'to enact a law which cannot be interfered with, without violating the religious feeling of the community and incurring corresponding penalties,' so 'to solemnly enact,' 'to fix by an ordinance for ever.' The main fact connoted is the unalterable nature of the enactment, established by the penalties attached. Comp. II. 8. 2.

§ 5. **noxae**, partitive, lit. 'partaking of the nature of capital guilt.'

According to Cicero de Rep. II. 31, the right of *provocatio* was secured by the Twelve tables *compluribus legibus*. This *lex* of Livy's, therefore, if it ever existed, must have been a single and general expression and solemn ratifying of these enactments. It is a question whether it applied to the dictator. Dictators *sine provocatione* are mentioned afterwards. In VIII. 33. 7, Fabius claims the right of *provocatio* against a dictator, but whether by constitutional right or not, hardly appears.

§ 6. **relatis**, 'renewed, repeated.'

renovarunt = *de novo fecerunt*.

§ 7. II. 8. 2.

iudicibus, decemviris. Cf. § 11. Livy there rejects the supposition that the consuls were included under *iudicibus*. But he leaves us entirely in the dark as to what he understood by the word himself. Under these circumstances it seems best to understand it as in apposition to *decemviris* and as indicating the body of judicial assessors attached to the tribunate, and known afterwards as *Decemviri litibus iudicandis*. Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II. 590, n. 3, Hist. I. 281.

ad, 'at.'

Cereris. The name of this deity is Italian, the goddess of the producing earth (*cresco* or *creo*). The cult of Ceres, however, did not belong to the original Roman religion (her name does not appear in the Arval cult). It seems probable that it began with the introduction of the Asiatic Greek rites of the Sibylline books. The triad, Demeter, Dionysus, and Cora, belonged originally to the district round Troy. Of these the first was represented by the Italian name Ceres, the two latter identified with the old Roman deities, Liber and Libera, personifications of natural processes. Ceres was especially a goddess of the plebeians and the *Ludi Cereris*, a plebeian festival. Hence, probably, her connexion with this law. The temple stood at the foot of the Aventine, founded according to tradition by the dictator A. Postumius in B.C. 496 in accordance with an injunction of the Sibylline books. Tac. Annal. II. 49.

Liberaeque. These two deities are regarded as one in two forms, therefore coupled by *que* to each other, and standing together asyndeta in juxtaposition to *Cereris*.

§ 8. **quum**. Madvig's emendation for *cum*. With the latter reading retained by Weissenb. *id* must be omitted. Weissenb. encloses it in brackets.

The meaning of the passage appears to be that the *lex* did

not make the persons of all the magistrates mentioned *sacrosanct*, but that violation of such magistrates was an offence against the law (was *sacrum sancitum*, that is forbidden under penalty of devotion to the gods). Hence an aedile could be arrested by a higher magistrate, though it was a violation of this law to do so; whereas a tribune, whose person was inviolable by the oath sworn by the whole community after the secession (ii. 33, comp. iv. 6. 7, *quos* (*tribunos*) foedere icto *cum plebe sacrosanctos accepissent*), could not have hands laid on him at all. In the one case the higher magistrate took the risk of prosecution under a law, in the other he *ipso facto* condemned himself of high-treason. The distinction is a fine one, worthy of jurists.

§ 9. **duci**, sc. *in vincula.*

§ 11. **auspiciis**, c. 54. 5.

iudicem. This *was* a title of the consuls in these times. The real grounds for assuming that this law did not make the consuls *sacrosanct* are (1) the order of the names, which is obviously a descending one, and (2) the notorious fact that only plebeian magistrates were regarded as *sacrosanct*. Mommsen, Staatsrecht, p. 73, n. 1.

§ 13. **senatus consulta** "were to be deposited not only under the charge of the patrician quaestors in the temple of Saturn, but under that of the plebeian aediles in the (plebeian) temple of Ceres." Mommsen, i. 295.

§ 15. **ut...ita** corresponds very nearly to Greek μέν...δέ, and like that construction is often equivalent to a concessive sentence.

quia, &c. qualifies *invitis.*

c. lvi. § 1. **maturumque**, not in its frequent acquired sense of 'early,' and so, 'too early,' or 'premature,' but in the original sense of timely, seasonable; as we use *ripe* in the expression, 'matters were ripe for revolution,' &c.

§ 2. **satellitesque.** ii. 12. 13.

§ 4. **iudicem**, c. 24. 5. The expression is used here in a general sense. 'Unless you are ready to prove in court.' *te*, &c. depend on *iudicem dices; criminis*, on the sense of *condemno* in *in vincla duci iubebo.*

ab libertate, lit. 'from freedom into slavery;' that is, adjudged the possession of a free person as slave to another.'

vindicias, &c., c. 44. 5.

§ 7. **fremunt.** ii. 7. 1.

etsi, like *quanquam*, c. 51. 1, without verb.

§ 8. **addixisset**, c. 44. 5.

§ 9. **cum**, II. 12. 1.

quibus. The construction is rather irregular, the ablative *quibus* referring to the same thing as the objective genitive *earum*. This repetition, where the subject of the ablative absolute is either the subject or the object, or reappears in some subordinate relation in the principal sentence, is not unfrequent, and, as in repetition generally, the object is distinctness and emphasis. It is not a construction that young Latinists should imitate, because they are almost certain to imitate it perversely.

Cf. Cic. in Pis. § 23, *Quae ornamenta etiam in Sex. Claudio* te consule *voluisti*. Horace, A. P. 173, *Laudator temporis acti se puero*. Livy, XXXVIII. 7, *Paucis...elapsis eorum absentium direptae fortunae*.

§ 10. **bona malaque**, 'services and faults.' Cf. Sallust, Jug. 73, *In utroque magis studia partium, quam bona aut mala sua moderabant*.

experturum...experiri, frequently used of trial in a law court. Cic. pro Quint., c. 23, *Ego* experiri *non potui*. In this passage it is used in two slightly different shades of meaning; 'To test the value of his merits,' &c. and 'To take his trial at the tribunal of the Roman people,' lit. 'to try, risk, or, take his chance of the judgment,' &c.

§ 12. **tollendae** qualifies *foedere*, and signifies the object of the compact.

at, like ἀλλά, emphasizing an opposition between the apodosis and protasis of a conditional or concessive sentence; in Cicero only used when the protasis is negative, e.g. *si* non *hominis, at humanitatis rationem haberet*, pro Quint. 31, comp. c. 17. In Livy, after a conditional protasis, a personal pronoun follows *at*.

leges, c. 55. 4 and 14.

c. LVII. § 2. **castellum**. For the metaphor compare Cic. in Pis., *Lex Aelia et Fufia, propugnacula murique tranquillitatis et oti*.

§ 4. **et illi**. 'For him too.'

domicilium, which he had been in the habit of calling the plebeian's home. The expression was perhaps suggested by Cic. in Verr. II. 5. 55, *Carcer ille qui est a crudelissimo tyranno Dionysio factus Syracusis...in istius* (*Verris*) *imperio domicilium civium Romanorum fuit*.

§ 5. **iudicem**, &c. c. 56. 4.

§ 6. **ut...sic.** c. 55. 15.

quoquam. Livy as a rule, in the ablative case, prefers to use *ullus* substantively.

suamet. *Suus* may be emphasized by *met* in all cases except *suus*, *suum*, *suae* and *suorum*, most frequent in ablative. As a rule, it is followed by *ipse*.

prodixit. II. 61. 7.

§ 7. **coronam.** Compare the similar gift, II. 22. 6.

§ 9. **iuniores**, opp. to the veterans, expressed by *emeritis stipendiis*, which is practically a partitive genitive (=*veterum militum*) after *pars*, *voluntariorum* being in apposition to it, and used predicatively or adverbially, 'as volunteers.'

c. LVIII. § 1. **C. Claudius**, c. 40.

qui...is. 'He who had, &c....now,' &c.

§ 2. **imaginis.** 'A man on whose features future generations would gaze with awe,' or 'whose portrait future generations would be proud to possess.' The allusion is to the wax masks of illustrious ancestors kept by Roman families, and used at funerals to represent those ancestors. The custom of keeping them ceased under the early empire, because so many great men ceased to have ancestors, and *imagines* acquired a different signification. Cf. Martial, Select Epig. II. 90. 6.

§ 3. **cogn. cogitationemque**, 'and consider the matter calmly on its merits.'

Claudiis, dative.

§ 4. **succursum**, impers. pass. use of participle.

§ 5. **pietate**, 'loyalty to his family.' *Pietas* is the quality of a man who shows himself sensitively alive to all natural claims on his affection.

sortitae. The expression seems to be a metaphor from the allotment of provinces. 'Who had accepted the position of Tyrants of the Plebs.'

§ 7. **dicerentur**, because expressing the thought of the people about the matter, introduced by implication in *invidiae*.

§ 8. **septem et viginti.** Cf. c. 41. 7.

extra ordinem. Rewards received by him individually; more honourable therefore than when shared with the rest of a company.

suam=*de se*, II. 23. 5.

reus, Oppius.

§ 9. **ibi** shows how completely *vincula* acquired in these phrases the wider sense of 'prison.'

solum verterunt. iii. 13. 9.

§ 10. **remittente.** As tribune he would submit the lesser punishment to the tribes.

§ 11. **manes.** Cf. xxi. 10. 3, *Non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri.*

c. lix. § 2. **ex inimicis**, adv. phrase qualifying *poenarum.* Cf. ii. 64. 3.

§ 4. **toti**, c. 36. 7.

§ 5. **mollius**, weak.

auctores, c. 55. 3. All laws passed or elections settled by the centuriate assembly required the sanction of the patrician portion of the senate. Another privilege of that body viz. of choosing an interrex from their own number is mentioned, c. 8. 2. The resolutions of the plebeian assembly did not require the *patrum auctoritas.*

turbato...statu, abl. of *cause.*

tempori. 'They had allowed themselves to temporise,' lit. 'they had succumbed to the (exigencies of the) times.' For this sense of *tempus* (=circumstances, gen. of a dangerous or pressing kind) cf. Cic. pro Arch., *Qui tot annos ita vivo ut a nullius unquam me tempore aut commodo otium meum abstraxerit.*

c. lx. § 1. **sustinuit**, c. 65. 6.

§ 2. **commisisset.** ii. 45. 1.

qui, 'such.' *Qui* in this use = *is enim*, and the relative clause precedes that which it explains.

detrimento, abl. of price. The use with *stare* (prob. metaphor from things, especially slaves, exposed for sale), 'to cost,' is common.

magis, 'what was rather,' &c. *magis* and *castris* both qualify *praesidium.*

§ 6. **quid** = *quantum.*

§ 7. **et...quidem.** ii. 2. 9.

§ 8. **ni** depends on *invasurus*—conditional.

et, 'and accordingly.'

§ 9. **deinceps alii**, ellipse of previous *alii.*

descendentes. ii. 7. 1.

§ 10. **nec omnes**, &c. = *quum nondum omnes educti essent ii autem qui erant educti, ordines non satis explicassent.*

explicatis ordinibus, predicate to *qui erant.* 'Part of the enemy's forces had issued from the gates, and the companies one after another in regular order were marching down to their respective places in the field when the consul, not waiting for them to mass in full force, advanced his line. He thus attacked them before all their troops had marched out, and before those, that had marched out, had formed open order. The chaos of preparation was not over: men were still running about between the lines looking anxiously first at their own ranks and then towards the rear, when the battle cry and the charging masses of the enemy came to increase their agitation.' *Servare ordines* may be said of soldiers on the march; *explicare ordines* is said of soldiers opening out the close order of marching for fighting purposes.

prope fluctuantem turbam, 'almost a surging unorganized mass,' expresses the heaving agitated motion of a mass of soldiers evolving into battle order.

se ac suos, 'themselves and their own men,' expresses the anxious look at the smallness of their present numbers and eager desire to see the other troops advancing to their support.

c. lxi. § 1. **primum.** In this campaign, that is.

§ 2. **per milites stetisse ne.** ii. 31. 11.

§ 5. **iis**, 'such,' that is, those auspices under which it *had* been founded.

§ 7. **peditem**, a common *constructio ad sensum, praestare* being = *superare.*

§ 9. **permittunt.** Cf. ii. 56. 2.

libero spatio, 'taking advantage of the open ground;' *circumvecti*, 'riding round.'

§ 11. **modo.** In the city, the result of the news was confined to universal (*celebrata*, ii. 42. 6) rejoicing, in the other army it produced emulation and action.

§ 12. **excursionibus.** After this word the MSS. have *sufficiendo*, which gives no satisfactory sense. Madvig omits it.

profecerant, 'had advanced things towards the sum total (c. 6. 9) of entire hope' = had warranted hopes (afforded a prospect) of the highest military success.

§ 13. **ab.** ii. 14. 4.

carperent, why they frittered away a decisive campaign in peddling engagements. *carpo* used in its original force of dividing, pulling in pieces. So c. 5. 1, *carpere multifariam vires.*

unius, opposed to *multa*, is predicative and proleptic. The sum of the war, so as to be one.

§ 14. **quin**, with interrogative indicative urges action adversatively to something expressed or implied in what has preceded. By *constructio ad sensum* the imperative is substituted for the interrogative indicative as here. By a further usage *quin* is used, especially followed by *etiam*, disconnected from the verb, to strengthen a position by the introduction of an emphatic statement incompatible with the negation of what has preceded. 'Nay more.

illi, not unfrequently = *vos*, in orat. obliq., where distinction between the speaker and the persons addressed is accentuated.

c. LXII. § 1. **indignitate**. II. 30. 2.

ultro, II. 13. 2.

per cont. II. 11. 2.

§ 4. **agite dum.** II. 29. 11.

indicem. II. 1. 4.

§ 5. **quod bene vertat, &c.** Cf. c. 26. 9.

apparandis, abl. Cicero uses *in* with abl. after *consumo.*

§ 6. **gloriae**, genitive describing the circumstances of the one army, as *elatum*, &c., describes that of the other.

§ 7. **extra ordinem.** Skirmishers; men not acting in the main body of the army.

§ 8. **prope** qualifies *circumventum.*

aequato. That is, by fighting on foot.

§ 9. **suo**, i.e. as cavalry, *alieno* as infantry.

c. LXIII. § 1. **Sabinis**, dat. of person interested. 'The Sabines found,' &c.

§ 2. **nuntius.** II. 1. 4.

§ 3. **castigati.** c. 19. 4.

§ 5. **maligne.** II. 42. 1.

consulum nomine. This use of *nomen* is derived from the keeping of accounts, *nomen* being a man's name in a book, under

which pecuniary transactions with him were entered, and corresponds to the metaphorical use of 'score' and 'account' in English. 'On the score of the consuls' here means, in recognition of their services.

et altero. 'A second also.'

vaga popularisque. 'This irregular, lay *supplicatio.*' It would be difficult to find an exact parallel to the use of *vaga* here, but the sense is plain. It was a free *supplicatio*, so to say, not confined by fixed rule and ceremonial. *popularis* implies that it was celebrated by the people at their own discretion, not under the direction of the priests.

studiis celebr. 'More popular.' Lit. 'more thronged with interest.' *studiis*, abl. of manner.

celebratior. II. 60. 3, 42. 6.

§ 6. **eodem biduo.** 'Within a day of one another.' Lit. 'within the same space of two days.'

Martium. Enclosed by Madvig in brackets as spurious, on the ground that the order is wrong and the adj. not necessarily required.

§ 7. **Flaminia.** c. 54. 15. According to the tradition the temple of Apollo here mentioned was vowed in 433 on account of a pestilence, and dedicated in 431. IV. 25, 29. It was used occasionally by the senate, when circumstances rendered it necessary to meet outside the *pomoerium.* The temple of *Bellona* in the same locality was more frequently used for that purpose. According to tradition there was an area dedicated to Apollo before the temple was built.

§ 8. **dissuasum.** Supine. 'To speak against it.'

§ 11. **a ceteris.** The best MSS. omit the *a*. Madvig's rule for use of *dat.* instead of *a* with abl. in good prose writers is as follows; the dative is used (1) with perfect passive participles, the thing done being regarded abstractedly, as existing for the benefit of, or in some similar relation to, the person; or (2) with verbs, where in addition to the notion of agency the interest of the agent can be implied, e.g. in verbs of seeking.

c. LXIV. § 1. **luxuriam.** II. 21. 6, 48. 2. Here = abuse of liberty.

emineret. Picturesque for *appareret*, to make their own ambition less glaring. Cf. II. 5. 7.

§ 2. **consensum.** The union, conspiracy.

§ 3. **adorti essent.** Sc. *patres.*

§ 4. **forte.** Used substantively so far as to be qualified by *quadam.* So i. 4. 4, *Forte quadam divinitus,* &c.

ad tempus. 'Under the circumstances.' Cf. c. 59. 5.

§ 5. **rationem.** The regular phrase used of the admission of a man's candidature. It occurs frequently in connexion with Caesar's demand to be allowed to stand for the consulship without leaving his province of Gaul.

liberas. Unconditionally, without any restrictions imposed on their choice.

sortem. The tribune who presided at the *comitia tributa* was apparently chosen by lot.

§ 6. **subsellia.** The benches of the tribunes as opposed to the *sellae curules* of the patrician magistrates. Comp. ii. 56. 13.

§ 8. **prae.** Cf. iii. 18. 9

explerent. Did not fill out their tribes, that is, did not obtain a majority of the tribes. The majority were probably induced not to vote at all. *Explere tribus* is a condensed expression, to fill up a deficiency by means of tribes, so *explere damna,* c. 68, to fill up a vacuum made by losses. The accusative indicates the kind of filling, not the thing filled.

§ 9. **quae...sanciret,** ii. 4. 3. **numero.** The point was, the *way* in which the whole number of tribunes was to be filled up. According to Livy there was a clause allowing cooptation, when five had been elected by the *comitia* The reference is to the law mentioned c. 55. 14.

relinquerentur. That is, by the retiring tribunes. Cf. *Heredem aliquem relinquere.*

§ 10. **carmen.** Formula.

si qui. *qui* is ablative.

minus decem = *minus quam decem*

ut, dependent on verb implied in *rogabo,* e.g. *volo.*

cooptassint. An archaic form of perfect subjunctive. Compare *faxim.* Roby, Lat. Gr., Sch. Ed., § 292

eadem...ut = *eadem ac* or *qua.*

§ 11. **quindecim,** i.e. the former ten, who pleading unconstitutional procedure on the part of Duillius were for not resigning their office, and the five new ones duly elected by *comitia.*

c. lxv. § 1. **foverunt**, so *fovere partem*, xlii. 29.

patricios. If this tradition is correct, a distinction appears to have been made in regard to qualification, between tribunes elected in *comitia*, and tribunes chosen by cooptation. The matter is not of much importance, as, even according to the tradition, the right of cooptation ceased so easily.

§ 3. **ab iis capt. proditumque a coll.** Chiasmus. *captum*, cheated, imposed upon, implying harm to the person cheated. *decipio* is general. Cf. Lucret. i. 941, *ut puerorum aetas... perpotet amarum Absinthi laticem deceptaque non capiatur.*

It does not appear how Trebonius was imposed upon, but he seems to imply that he had been trapped into cooptating patricians without knowing it.

§ 4. **insectandisque.** He not only proposed this bill, but completed the act by hounding the consuls all through his year of office. *patribus*, abl. *modi*.

§ 6. **sustinendo rem**, by holding the execution of the levy over, so *sustinuit bellum*, c. 60. 1.

externos, subj. to *tollere animos*, which is used of the person whose spirits are raised. It is also used of the external influence which raises a person's spirits, c. 67. 6.

§ 7. **modestiae** = *alteri si modestiâ uteretur.* Forbearance on the part of one order always exposed it to danger from the other.

§ 8. **ubi...essent**, 'whenever,' ii. 58. 7.

humilioribus, c. 53. 9.

in primis, opposed to *deinde*, 'to begin with.' Stronger way of putting *primum*. So Cic. de Amic. § 13, has *in plerisque;* Sallust, Jug., c. 26, *In primis Adherbalem necat deinde omnes puberes*, &c. 'First and foremost.' Generally the phrase expresses priority in rank or consideration only, 'chiefly, especially,' &c.

utique, especially. ii. 27. 7.

omnis, 'any' or 'every,' agrees with *potestatis; aliquanto* qualifies *languidior. ferme*, 'as a rule.'

§ 9. **nomina.** Cf. Horace, Epist. i. 17. 41, *Aut virtus nomen inane est.*

§ 10. **ut...ita**, c. 55. 15.

credere...malle, hist. infin.

§ 11. **adeo.** ii. 2. 7.

tuendae. iii. 24. 1.

in difficili. The use of preposition with neuter adjective of 3rd declension, as an adverb, is rare before Livy's time. He uses it more freely than Cicero. With adjectives of 2nd declension it is common in all periods.

ultro, 'go out of their way,' ii. 13. 2.

tanquam = *tanquam si.*

c. lxvi. § 2. **quum dies,** &c. The nobles interrupting the *contiones* of the plebeians, were continually being indicted by the tribunes. Such declarations of war by the latter led to continual scenes of riot and disturbance.

§ 3. **ad.** ii. 8. 8.

simul. An additional motive for taking up arms.

§ 4. **nec pro,** &c. The Roman city no longer represented the home of one nation.

§ 5. **vindex,** ii. 1. 4.

regione = κατά with accusative. 'In the neighbourhood of.'

c. lxvii. § 1. **scire.** Indignant or pathetic infinitive. *ut* with the subjunctive is used in the same way. The interrogative particle *ne* is often used to introduce either construction.

§ 2. **is status.** Asyndeton. *iam diu* belongs to both clauses.

potissimum. ii. 5. 7.

§ 3. **ergo.** ii. 7. 8.

viri, pregnant. Comp. *magistratus,* ii. 28. 3, and i. 41. 3, *Si vir es.* Both in this and in *ignavissimi* Livy speaks *ex sententia scriptoris Romani.* Strict impartiality was hardly regarded as patriotic in historians of Livy's and preceding times. Even Polybius says, *δεῖ ῥοπὰς διδόναι ταῖς αὑτῶν πατρίσι τοὺς συγγραφέας.*

§ 5. **agro.** ii. 25. 6. *sub iugum,* iii. 28.

§ 9. **plebis,** subjective genitive. *Consules facere,* sc. *voluistis. nostra iura,* joined by asyndeton to the other three things the patricians had tolerated.

§ 10. **ecquando,** c. 11. 12.

§ 11. **vidimus.** The MSS. reading retained by Weissenb., *Esquilias quidem...Volscum hostem nemo submovit,* is open

to three objections: (1) The sense of *quidem* is unusual; (2) The zeugma *Esquilias captas et...hostem nemo submovit* is very harsh; (3) The repetition *ab hoste* and *hostem* in the same sentence is weak and clumsy.

c. LXVIII. § 3. **at enim.** Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία. 'But you may say, it is the whole community that is affected by all this, therefore the plebs so far gained.'

§ 4. **re fortuna.** 'in circumstances or estate.' Cicero prefers the plural of *fortuna* in this sense. For the asyndeton, cf. II. 31. 5.

§ 6. **simul...simul.** II. 65. 4.

§ 7. **grave erat.** You held it a grievance.

§ 8. **biennio**, c. 65. 6, inclusive reckoning.

ante, c. 51. 12.

§ 9. **ingenium moneret.** Cf. II. 4. 3.

moneret, unfulfilled condition. 'Even if my own disposition did not urge me (as it *does not* [not] urge me).'

cogit, very natural condensation for *dicerem, cogit enim*, &c.

§ 10. **natura**, &c. It is a law of human nature that, &c. Lit. this matter (the conflict between duty and popularity in public speaking) is so arranged by nature.

plebicolas. Cf. c. 33. 7.

§ 11. **concitati.** 'Your excitement is glory and gain to them.'

nullos se usquam, &c. 'They see that they are nowhere;' lit. 'that they are nobodies anywhere.' For the use of *nullus* comp. VI. 18. 8, *Ipse vindex vester...nullus repente fui.*

c. LXIX. § 2. **iuventus** = *iuniores.*

fuga. Nominative.

spoliatique. Epexegetical of *fuga*, II. 5. 7. The verb agreeing with the plural words.

§ 4. **domando**, by their endeavours to subdue it, metaphor from animals; *domando* signifies the process by which they increased the ferocity of the people, *tuendo* the motive which induced them to try the process.

concordiaeque...temporum forms with *patrum* a group of words signifying one whole idea coupled by *et* to *temporum.*

§ 5. **orare** may be orat. obliq. (*se* omitted) or historic infinitive.

§ 6. **tempus,** &c. 'It was no time to,' 'the emergency did not admit of.' The genitive is descriptive.

causas. Pleas of exemption, the cognizance of which lay with the consuls.

§ 8. **cohortes.** Cf. c. 5. 11. It was very unusual for the soldiers to choose their own officers. Senators, also, would not ordinarily serve in the infantry.

quaestoribus. First appearance of the *quaestores aerarii*, see Mommsen, i. 294. The standards appear to have been kept in the treasury (temple of Saturn) for security.

§ 9. **castra castris coniuncta,** of the two hostile camps. Cf. iv. 27. 5.

§ 10. **Romanos, illos.** Chiasmus.

c. lxx. § 1. **quod...est.** In apposition to *summa...erat.*

§ 4. **hostes.** ii. 7. 1.

suo proprio proelio, his own mode of fighting, i.e. cavalry fighting. 'Met him with his own weapons.'

exceptum. Cf. Horace, Odes, iii. xii. 12, *latitantem fruticeto excipere aprum.*

§ 5. **interclusos, ni.** Vivid use of perfect. Cf. ii. 10. 2.

§ 8. **ubi.** Relative to *ad consules.* 'In whose part of the field.'

§ 15. **ego.** Subj. to *coniicio* only, emphasized by position.

c. lxxi. § 3. **concilium.** Sc. *plebis.* Comp. *tribus vocari*, and c. 72. 6, *vocatae tribus.*

Scaptius. The land in dispute belonged in later times to the *tribus Scaptia;* hence the name assigned to this speaker.

§ 4. **vanum.** 'Untrustworthy.'

§ 7. **ceterum.** ii. 3. 1. Comp. i. 24. 3, *foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt.*

§ 8. **non potuisse...quin.** *Quin* depends on the whole expression *Non...animum.* Lit. 'It was impossible for him to conceive a means of not claiming.' So Cic. ad Brut. i. 17. 6, *Impetrari non potest quin,* &c., and compare the common use, *non potest* (*fieri*) *quin,* &c.

tamen. 'For all that.' The position is very noticeable.

c. LXXII. § 1. **silentio**, and *manu*, above, cf. III. 18. 4.

§ 2. **quum praesertim.** 'And that too, when,' &c. See Mayor on Cic. Philipp. II. § 60.

§ 3. **quidem.** 'At least.' Whatever *gain* might be realised in any other direction.

referre...vulgari...audire. Indignant infinitives. Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, I. 37. Cic. ad Att. IX. 10. 3, *me meis civibus famem, vastitatem inferre Italiae.* Comp. c. 48. 8.

§ 4. **putarent.** 2nd person in orat. obliq. 'Think you, said they, that our neighbours will hold an old mob-orator like Scaptius responsible for this? Such an idea would form a noble inscription for a family portrait of Scaptius, but the Roman people will pose as pettifoggers who take advantage of other people's going to law to appropriate the property in dispute.'

hac imagine appears to be a condensed expression for *hoc titulo imagini inscripto.*

quadruplator meant properly a public informer, who was rewarded by a quarter of the property informed against. Then it was used for a trickster or chicaner generally.

§ 5. **controv.** First used by Livy.

praemortui. 'Although he has long survived the last remnants of his conscience.' The word is poetical.

§ 7. **bono.** 'The goodness of the case.'

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